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COLONISING EXPEDITIONS

TO THE

WEST INDIES AND GUIANA,

1623—1667.

SECOND SERIES.

No. LVI.

ISSUED FOR 1924.

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VERITÉ SANS PAIR

NOBILISS DŪS FRANCISCUS WILLUGHBYE

BARO DE PARHAM etc.

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COLONISING EXPEDITIONS

TO THE

WEST INDIES AND GUIANA,

1623—1667.

EDITED BY

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PREFACE.

THE years succeeding the Great War have witnessed the beginning of a new and vigorous phase in the growth of the British Commonwealth of Nations, in which a spirit has emerged of close co-operation between equal and kindred nations. It is an experiment of the utmost significance for the future of western civilisation, and one which cannot rightly be understood unless studied from its first beginnings.

The aim of the present volume is to throw some additional light upon the earliest (and least known) stage of British overseas expansion. It presents in as coherent a form as possible the personal narratives of pioneer settlers in the seventeenth century. In simple, and sometimes rugged, prose we can read of their fortune, estimate the difficulties that beset them, weigh the causes of their disasters and success, and discern their weaknesses no less than their inherent strength.

For valuable aid and criticism while these pages were preparing for press I have to thank most warmly Sir Albert Gray, President of the Hakluyt Society. I am also much indebted to Mr. T. A. Joyce, Honorary Secretary of the Society, for help in selecting appropriate maps and illustrations. Much care and labour in correcting proofs and in compiling the index has been expended by my wife.

VINCENT T. HARLOW.

University College,
Southampton.
1924.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

PREFACE iii

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS viii

BIBLIOGRAPHY ix

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED xii

INTRODUCTION xiii

§ I. ST. CHRISTOPHERS, NEVIS, AND BARBADOS.

(i) "Relation of the First Settlement of St. Christophers and Nevis, by John Hilton, Storekeeper and Chief Gunner of Nevis." (*Egerton MSS.* [British Museum] 2395, folios 503–507) . . . 1—17

(ii) "Narrative of the First Settlement of St. Christophers and how it was taken from my Lord Willoughby's Deputy." (*Egerton MSS.* 2395, folios 508–509*b*) . . . . . 18—24

(iii) "A Brief Collection of the Depositions of Witnesses and Pleadings of Commissioners at Law in a difference depending between the merchants and inhabitants of Barbados on the one part, and the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Willoughby, &c., on the other part." (*Rawlinson MSS.* [Bodleian] "C," Vol. XCIV) 25—42

(iv) "A Breife discription of the Ilande of Barbados." (*Trinity College, Dublin, MSS.* G. 4, 15, No. 736, p. 182 *et seq.*) . . . . 42—48

(v) "A Letter from Barbados by y^e^ Way of Holland Concerning y^e^ Condiccon of Honest Men there. 9 Aug. 1651." (*Tanner MSS.* [Bodleian] 54, folios 153–154) . . . . . 48—53

PAGE

§ II. THE VOYAGE OF SIR HENRY COLT.

"The Voyage of S^r Henrye Colt Knight to y^e Ilands of y^e Antilleas in y^e Shipp called y^e *Alexander* wherof William Burch was Captayne & Robert Shapton Master accompanied w^th diuers Captaynes & Gentlemen of Note." (*Cambridge University Library MSS.*, Mm. 3, 9) . . . . . 54—102

§ III. ADMIRAL DE RUYTER'S RAID IN THE WEST INDIES.

(i) "An Account of De Ruyter's barbarityes in Guinea in 1664." (C.O. 1/19, No. 55, Public Record Office) . . . . . 103—108

(ii) "A true relacion of the fight at the Barbados between the Forts and Shipping there of the English and De Ruyter Admirall of the Dutch, the 20th of Aprill 1665." (*Ibid.*, No. 50) . . 109—110

(iii) A Letter from George Cartwright to Col. Nicolls, Boston, 5 June 1665. (*Ibid.*, No. 73) . 110—111

(iv) A Letter from Henry Willoughby to Lord Arlington, 22 April 1665. (*Ibid.*, No. 51) . . 112—113

§ IV. TOBAGO AND TRINIDAD.

(i) "The Discription of Tobago." (*Sloane MSS.* [British Museum] 3662, folios 47*b*–49) . . 114—119

(ii) "The Discription of Trinidada." (*Ibid.*, folios 43–47*b*) . . . . . 119—131

PAGE

§ V. GUIANA.

(i) " The Discription of Guyana." (*Sloane MSS.* 3662, folios 37*b*–42*b*) . . . . . 132—148

(ii) " A happie Shipwrack, or the losse of a late intended voyage by Sea recovered by a Breife of this experience." (*Ashmolean MSS.* [Bodleian] 749, No. II) 148—174

(iii) " Certaine Overtures made by y^e^ Lord Willoughby of Parham unto all such as shall incline to plant in y^e^ Colonye of Saranam on y^e^ Continent of Guaiana." *Circa* 1655. (*Sloane MSS.* 159, folios 20–21*b*) 174—177

(iv) " Reasons offered by the Lord Willoughbie why Hee ought not to bee confined in his settlement upon Serranam. *Circa* 1656. (*Egerton MSS.* 2395, folios 279–282) . . . . . 177—183

(v) " To y^e^ Right Honourable y^e^ Lords of His Majesties most Honorable Privy Councel, The Case of y^e^ Proscripts from Surinam w^th^ all Humility is briefely but most truely stated." 1662. (*Addit. MSS.* [British Museum] 29587, folios 79–80) . 184—188

(vi) Letters to Sir Robert Harley from the Stewards of his Plantations at Surinam. 1663–1664. (*Welbeck Abbey MSS.*) . . . . . 189—195

(vii) A Letter from Captain William Porter to Sir Robert Harley, being an Account of the Last Expedition and Death of Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham. Barbados, October 11, 1666. (*Welbeck Abbey MSS.*) . . . . . 196—198

(viii) "An Exact narrative of y^e^ State of Guyana and of y^e^ English Colony in Surynam in y^e^ beginning of y^e^ Warre with y^e^ Dutch, and of its Actions during the Warre, And the taking thereof by a Fleet from Zealand. Feb. 1667." (*Ashmolean MSS.* 842, folios 109–122) . . . . . 199—222

(ix) " An Exact narrative Concerninge The Takeinge The Island of Cayenne from the French, and the Fort and Collony of Surrynam from the Dutch. July 1667." (C.O. 1/21, No. 90, folios 172–189, Public Record Office) . . . . . 222—257

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham	*Frontispiece.*
	To face page
Map of St. Christophers	1
Map of Barbados	42
Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery	116
Map of the River Oyapok	150

At the end of the volume.

Map of the Caribee Islands.

Map of Cuba, Jamaica, and S. Domingo.

Map of the Rivers Amazon and Orinoco, showing the mythical Lake of Manoa and El Dorado.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED.

Dict. Nat. Biog.	*for* Dictionary of National Biography.
C.S.P. (Domestic)	*for* Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series.
Cal. Col.	*for* Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series (America and West Indies).
H.M.C.	*for* Historical Manuscripts Commission.
E.H.R.	*for* English Historical Review.
Mass. Hist. Soc.	*for* Massachusetts Historical Society.
P.R.O.	*for* Public Record Office.
O.U.P.	*for* Oxford University Press.
C.U.P.	*for* Cambridge University Press.

INTRODUCTION.

WITH the golden age when navigators groped their way across the unknown sea, modern readers are well acquainted. The glamour of it has caught and fascinated the mind of novelist and poet. The doings of Drake and Raleigh attract us in the same way as the tales of Charlemagne and Arthur, and for the same reason. On his side, too, the historian, realising that herein lay a second Renaissance—a further widening of the basis of thought, and all that follows when men's minds begin to swing in a wider orbit—has devoted to this time a wealth of learning and research. Similarly the later period of colonial development, when the new societies of Englishmen across the sea began to alter the future of the Anglo-Saxon race, has been patiently and exhaustively studied in nearly all its bearings. But the intermediate phase, that is to say, the early decades of the seventeenth century, does not appear to have received the same degree of attention. And yet a perusal of the scanty records here reveals a story as inspiring as that of the Elizabethan adventurers themselves, and as important as that of the subsequent consolidation and growth. As the stories brought back by explorers of that vast new continent of America gradually found their way through the courts and homes of Europe, the inherent love of power, riches and adventure impelled individuals—and finally nations—to engage in a ruthless struggle with each other for a share in the spoil.

Circumstances had given the Spaniard and the Portuguese a substantial start in the race. But soon crowding on their heels came exiles and adventurers from England, France, Holland and the people of the Baltic. Beset by unaccustomed dangers in disease, ignorance of tropical conditions, attacks by native tribes and by the barbarity of their fellow-Europeans, expedition after expedition fared forth to found new communities, only to be lost in a significant silence.

It is this part of the story that the following pages endeavour to portray. True, there is little of the earlier glamour to be found in the period. A state of nature prevailed after Hobbes' own heart. Life was in truth "nasty, brutish and short." Every man's hand was against his fellow. Yet despite the brutality, there is much of the heroic in this desperate struggle of men battling against Nature and each other to win a foothold, and build a home, where the first explorers had led the way. Despite disease and massacre, they continued and expanded the work of their Elizabethan predecessors and laid foundations without which the edifices of the future would have never been. They forged a link—and one of vital importance—in the chain of Anglo-Saxon expansion in the New World.

On review the struggle will of necessity appear somewhat kaleidoscopic. Settlements appear, flourish for a time, and then are swept away. But the vacancy in the rank is soon filled up; another little colony essays its puny strength. In the West Indies the chief islands are soon peopled. There the danger is not so much from natives or climatic conditions, but from international rivalry. At one time the Spaniard rouses himself and drives out the foreign interloper who has invaded his preserve. At another a European war embroils the French or Dutch with the English, and one or the other is temporarily ousted.

In Guiana progress is slower. For the earliest decades of the Century, the record is one of almost universal failure. The country, redolent with fever and peopled by savage tribes, proves too difficult. But gradually bit by bit a Dutch trading post secures itself here, and at another point an English settlement wins its way. European politics also play their part. But before the second half of the Century is far advanced the English pioneer is able to hand over a heritage which succeeding generations have not lost.

St. Christophers and Nevis.

Of the manifold difficulties with which these pioneers had to contend the record of English enterprise on the island of St. Christophers is typical. For here a colony was slowly and painfully evolved in the face of the treachery of native tribes, surprise attacks by the French on land, and the incursions of Spanish fleets by sea. The first appearance of Englishmen upon the island arose indirectly out of the well known expedition of Captain Roger North to Guiana in 1620,[1] in which Captain Thomas Warner[2] took part. During the voyage Warner learnt from a companion, one Captain Painton, of the fertility of St. Christophers, and was so favourably impressed that he abandoned the idea of settling in Guiana, and repaired thither to spend a year in investigating. Apparently the island came up to expectations, for he returned to London, and persuaded some sixteen of his friends, including Ralph Merrifield, to join him in financing and fitting out an expedition. In 1623 Warner with thirteen others set sail for the New World. After touching at

[1] See below, pp. lxxv–lxxix.

[2] Thomas Warner had been a captain in James I's bodyguard. After a long and distinguished career in the West Indies, he died in 1649, and was buried at St. Thomas' in St. Christophers'. (See under name in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

Virginia and Barbados, they arrived at St. Christophers on January 28th, 1624, thus inaugurating the first colony of Englishmen in the West Indies.

Here, under the curious but none too friendly eyes of the natives, the work of settlement was begun forthwith. Trees were cut down, log huts erected; and by September of that year the first crop of tobacco was ripening in the clearings. But the course of colonisation never did run smooth, as Warner and his men soon discovered. One of the usual autumn hurricanes came and devastated the crop, reducing the little settlement to despair. Fortunately on March 18th, 1625, Charles Jeafferson, a prominent supporter of the venture, arrived from England on board the *Hopewell*, bringing sorely needed reinforcements both of men and of provisions.

Still further to promote the prosperity of his colony, Warner himself decided to return home. More men of the right type were induced to embark upon the venture,[1] and —what was even more important—a patent was obtained in the following terms, appointing Warner as the King's lieutenant for the islands of St. Christophers, Nevis, Barbados and Montserrat :—

> " Whereas Thomas Warner at the Charge of Raphe Merifield, haveing lately discovered towards the Continent of America fower Islands, vizt., St. Christophers alias Merwarshope, Nevis, Barbador, and Monserate inhabited of savage people, and not in the possession or government of any Christian Prince or State, and haveing begune a Plantation, and Trade there : Hath beene an humble Suitor to his majestie, to take the said Islands into his Royall Protection and to grante Lycence to the said Raphe Merifield his Partners and Agents, to traffique to and from the said Islands, paying the customs due, and to transport men and (to) doe all such things as tend to settle a colony and advance trade there. And alsoe to grante

[1] *C.S.P.* (Domestic), 1625–1626, p. 156.

> to the said Thomas Warner, and in Case of his Death to John Jeaffreson dureing pleasure the Custodie of the said islands and to governe and rule all persons there, and to punish the disobedient, and by force to represse all such as shåll seeke in hostile manner to invade the said Islands. And lastly to give power to the Englishmen there resident, after the death of the said Warner and Jeafferson from tyme to tyme, to elect a newe Lieutenante, who by his majesties grante mought have and Exercise, dureing his majesties pleasure, the hyhe power and authoritie as is lymited to the said Warner."[1]

Thus armed, Warner returned to St. Christophers in the autumn of 1626, bringing with him 400 new recruits and ample supplies.[2] But here, as in the case of Virginia and all other young colonies whose staple product was tobacco, the great danger was lack of food. The non-arrival of an English ship with its cargo of provisions to exchange for tobacco would often bring the colony to the verge of starvation. Such was the experience of St. Christophers in 1627. Throughout that summer the planters had much ado to keep body and soul together. Their feelings can therefore well be imagined when at last in October the good ship *Hopewell* sailed into port laden with provisions.[3]

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[1] *Acts of the Privy Council* (Colonial Series), 1613–1680, No. 150. This grant, dated September 13th, 1625, was the first patent in respect of the West Indies to pass under the Great Seal.

[2] On his way out he had made an unsuccessful attempt to drive the Spaniards from Trinidad. This attempt had been undertaken in consequence of letters of marque (January 23rd, 1626) granted to Merrifield, as owner, and to Warner, as Captain, of the "Gift of God." (*C.S.P.* (Domestic), 1635–1636, pp. 322, 327.)

[3] A month later the needs of the settlers were further relieved by the arrival of other ships, but the relief was only temporary. For again in 1630 starvation was imminent. Cf. *Acts of the Privy Council* (Colonial), 1613–1680, No. 266, February 4th, 1631, "the Board was this day made acquainted as well by the humble petition of the Planters and Adventurers to the Caribee Islands, as by the Earl of Carlile present in Councell of the greate distresse wherein the said Planters and theire servants were, by reason of the greate wante of bread and other victualls there . . ."

In addition to a frequent lack of food, the settlers found themselves beset by hostile and greedy neighbours. Already in 1625 the French, we are told, "had planted themselves in the other end of the Isle"[1]—an event destined to give rise to constant friction and bloodshed for the next 150 years. In October of the same year, while Warner was absent in England, the numbers and strength of the French were greatly augmented by the shipwreck at St. Christophers of Monsieur D'Esnambuc and his party. Realising their peril in the face of the growing hostility of the Carib tribes, the English planters decided to receive the new arrivals for the sake of mutual protection.

The admission of the French led in May, 1627, to a formal partition of the island between the two nations. A treaty was drawn up between Warner and D'Esnambuc, by which the Northern and Southern districts (subsequently known as Capesterre and Basseterre) were reserved to the French, and the central section to the English. The valuable salt pans were declared common property. Clauses, too, were inserted which provided for concerted action against the Caribs and the Spaniards. But (as a recent writer has remarked) the most important feature of the treaty was the provision that, in the event of war between England and France, the neighbouring settlements should remain in friendly neutrality unless expressly directed to the contrary by their sovereigns.[2] In other words, these pioneers in the New World felt that sufficient dangers and difficulties already beset their path without becoming embroiled in the quarrels of the Old. The treaty was ratified no less than five times during the next

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[1] "The beginning and proceedings of the new plantation of St. Christopher by Captain Warner," *Captain John Smith's Works*, Chap. xxv, ed. Arber.

[2] *The Development of the Leeward Islands*, by C. S. S. Higham pp. 32–36, *C.U.P.*, 1921.

thirty-five years;[1] but national rivalry was too potent a force to be excluded, and until 1783 St. Christophers was the cock-pit of Anglo-French rivalry in the West Indies. Yet despite the fact that the rival settlements each feared the consequences of an attack from the other, frequent feuds and bitterness arose between them.

At first, however, the necessity for co-operation against the common perils by which they were surrounded prevented trouble. Soon after the arrival of D'Esnambuc a Carib fleet attacked the islands. "Six of those (canoes)," Captain Smith relates, "with about foure or five hundred strange Indians, came unto us. We bade them be gone, but they would not; whereupon we and the French joyned together, and upon the fifth of November (1625) set upon them, and put them to flight."[2] A further attack was beaten off on New Year's Eve. But so grave was the danger, that a constant guard was maintained and all other work suspended for the succeeding eight months.

Soon afterwards a new danger arose in connection with the Caribs who lived in the island. Warner (who had returned from England in August, 1626) received news from a Carib woman that the natives were plotting a massacre of the English. Deciding to forestall the attack he planned with the French a joint night surprise, which proved completely successful. Great numbers of the Caribs, including their King, were caught and slaughtered out of hand; an act which one authority, John Hilton, naively describes as that of "a wise and good souldier."[3]

Naturally there was great fear of reprisals; and not without reason. Shortly afterwards the French fort was

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[1] *I.e.*, in 1638, 1644, 1649, 1655 and 1662.

[2] *Captain Smith's Works*, Chap. xxv, *op. cit.*

[3] See J. Hilton's *Relation* (*Egerton MSS.* 2395) printed below, p. 2. Bryan Edwards (*op. cit.*) describes this massacre as being entirely wanton and unprovoked—which, in view of the evidence, seems improbable.

suddenly surrounded, and only the timely aid of the English prevented a massacre which would have extended to the entire European population. A vigorous counter-attack was then launched, which finally drove the Caribs out of the island.

English and French could now feel tolerably secure, and free to settle down to work. But as they grew in strength and numbers, each began to jostle and fret the other. As early as 1627, "the French," we are told, "being like to starving, sought to surprise us, and all the Cassado, Potato and Tobacco we had planted; but we did prevent them."[1] Later a more significant incident took place.

In August, 1629, D'Esnambuc returned from a visit to France, bringing with him 300 men and six men of war. Thus reinforced, he haughtily called upon Warner to withdraw his settlers from the land which they had brought under cultivation during his absence. The order was not complied with; and Warner had much ado to prevent the angry Englishmen from falling upon their aggressive neighbours. As may be imagined, there was no love lost between French and English for the future. Six years later D'Esnambuc engaged in a still more hostile act. By promising liberty to all negro slaves (of whom there were now great numbers in the island) the French Commander had the English at his mercy; and Warner was compelled to concede his demands. An even more illuminating incident took place in 1639, when De Poincy, D'Esnambuc's successor, tried to have Warner poisoned. It was again the wisdom and forbearance of Warner himself that prevented the enraged planters from rising in armed force.

Meanwhile, as if this were not enough, developments were taking place in England which were destined to add internal dissension to the list of troubles already besetting

[1] *Captain Smith's Works, op. cit.*

the struggling planters. On July 2nd, 1627, in fulfilment of a promise made four years before, letters patent were granted to James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, constituting him Lord Proprietor of all the Caribee Islands.

Usually the support of some wealthy lord in England was an invaluable asset to planters, whose very existence depended on a regular supply of provisions, arms and ammunition. In this case, however, the establishment of a proprietary system of government proved a definite handicap to the young colony, as well as an injustice to Warner and his fellow-adventurers who had first exploited the island. The Earl of Carlisle was a spendthrift on the verge of bankruptcy, and looked on his new acquisitions in the West Indies as a heaven-sent source of revenue. Indeed, the Carlisle grant was one of many examples at this time of Court favouritism at home interfering with and hampering the enterprise of Englishmen abroad.

Warner was in England at the time of the granting of the patent; and it is evident that he met Carlisle and came to some agreement with him. By way of compensation the Earl used his influence to secure for Warner the honour of knighthood, which was conferred by Charles I on September 27th, 1627. Then two days later Carlisle appointed him sole governor of St. Christophers for life.[1] It was one thing, however, to settle with Sir Thomas Warner; but quite another to impose the burdens of a new authority upon the planters. And this the Earl discovered.

Trouble began immediately. Two gentlemen, respectively named Havercampe and Moale, arrived at St. Christophers in 1628, with Carlisle's commission, and proceeded to levy taxes on his behalf; whereupon the planters rose in wrath, declaring they neither knew nor wished to know anything

[1] *Cal. Col.*, 1574–1660, p. 101. Already in July, Warner had sent the *Plough* with a cargo of supplies to St. Christophers "with the approbation of the Earl of Carlisle." *Acts of the Privy Council* (Colonial Series), 1613–1680, No. 200.

of their so-called Proprietor. Riots occurred and only with difficulty was a compromise arranged, whereby Sir Thomas Warner was recognised in the island as Governor under Lord Carlisle, and the planters agreed to pay a poll tax and other dues in return for full military supplies. Payment of the taxes was henceforward vigorously enforced, often with great injustice and cruelty ; but the unfortunate settlers discovered that they were still obliged to bear the expense of defending the island.[1] The evidence of tyranny and barbarous punishment brought forward in later years by the islanders when attacking the legality of the Carlisle patent,[2] may have received picturesque adornment for the occasion ; but by comparison with other and independent evidence, it is clear that they give a generally accurate picture of the conditions obtaining at that period. Thus it became natural to be " agin the Government," for its restrictive influence on the welfare of the colony was obvious. But much of the wrangling and riot was the fault of the planters themselves. Bold and undaunted in the face of peril and adversity, they were at the same time fiercely quarrelsome and resentful of any sort of control or discipline.

A community living on the very fringe of civilisation is liable to lose much of that respect for law and authority which is usual among people in an older country. Of this circumstance the quarrel between Anthony Hilton,

[1] It is to be noted that although the Earl of Carlisle enforced the payment of heavy dues and did little or nothing to provide guns and munitions in return, he was not entirely neglectful (if only for his own interest) of the welfare of St. Christophers. Cf. the Petition of George Rookes and his associates wherein they state that they have " set forth a Ship called the George, in which there are one hundreth passengers in consort with other ships belonging to the Earl of Carlisle, for the Islands of S. Christopher . . ." (*Cal. Col.*, 1574–1660, p. 93, July 18th, 1628.) Cf. *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1613–1680, No. 273, " our verie good Lord, the Earle of Carlile hath appointed a shipp of 150 Tonns called the Robert Bonaventure of Plymouth to be sent with fiftie men, as Planters to the Island called St. Christophers." Also *ibid.*, Nos. 214, 266.

[2] See various Depositions of the original settlers (*Rawlinson MSS.* " C," 94), pp. 27–29 below

Governor of Nevis, and Mr. Ashton is a typical example. After being driven from their first settlement on the windward side of St. Christophers, Hilton and his comrades had in 1628 founded a colony on the neighbouring island of Nevis. Shortly afterwards Mr. Ashton (or Asten), who was acting as co-deputy with Edward Warner during the Governor's absence in England, endeavoured at once to satisfy his animosity against Hilton and to become possessed of his estates by murdering him. But he, we are told, "heaving up his hand to give ye fattall blowe God prevented him."[1] The upshot was that the men of St. Christophers took sides in the quarrel and a petty war broke out.

War of a very different kind, however, was even now knocking at their doors. In the autumn of 1629 a Spanish "Armado" of twenty-four men-of-war and fifteen frigates under the command of Don Frederick de Toledo, on its way from Spain to attack the Dutch in Brazil, suddenly appeared off the coast of Nevis. While some of the ships in the harbour made good their escape, the fort on Pelican Point opened fire, and "Shott soe long as wee had either bullett or powder."[2] As so often happened, however, on such occasions, indentured servants deserted their masters. They swam aboard the Spanish ships, and provided the invaders with full information. Realising the hopelessness of the situation, the planters entered into negotiation with Don Frederick and agreed to surrender the island, and either to ship themselves for England or enter the service of the King of Spain.[3]

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[1] See John Hilton's *Relation*, p. 6 below.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[3] Hilton follows the usually accepted course of events in stating that the French settlers deserted the English, departing to neighbouring islands, which were uninhabited; and then returned to St. Christophers after the Spaniards had gone away (p. 13). The second *Relation* printed, however, relates that the French fought for a while side by side with the English before making their escape (p. 19).

Proceeding to St. Christophers, the Spaniards received the surrender of that island upon similar terms. The planters were crowded aboard the vessels which had been captured at the islands and sent back to England, "dispersing of us soe that wee never all mett togeather againe." Five hostages were retained for St. Christophers and four for Nevis; and then, having laid waste the plantations, the Spaniards proceeded on their way to Brazil, whence the Dutch were subsequently expelled.[1]

Thus the enterprise and labour of six hard years appeared to be totally lost. It so happened, however, that a certain Morris Gardner and other planters had escaped into the woods, where they concealed themselves until the Spanish ships departed. "After which those that fled into ye woods assembled togeather, and made choise of (the) said Gardner to be their Governor."[2] Others who had been ordered to England retraced their steps as soon as the Spaniards' backs were turned. Help, too, was forthcoming from the mother country. At the time of the disaster Sir Thomas Warner and Governor Hilton of Nevis both happened to be in England, and no time was lost by them in bringing out fresh reinforcements to build up a new colony from the ruins of the old.

It is at this stage in the chequered story of English colonisation in St. Christophers that Sir Henry Colt makes his appearance. The narrative of his doings in the West Indies, with its quaint phraseology and delightfully human touches,[3] does not appear to have been

[1] Bryan Edwards (Bk. II, Chap. 2) states that the Spaniards "selected out of the English settlers 600 of the ablest men, whom he condemned to the mines." But I can find no confirmation of this among contemporary English authorities. Indeed, Hilton remarks on the courtesy and consideration of Don Frederick, though he admits that the hostages which were taken "endured much missery for ye space of five yeares" in a Spanish prison.

[2] See p. 20 below.

[3] For example—"your Mother I have already sent two letters, I will send noe moor untell our shipp returnes, for I love her nott" (p. 102).

hitherto known to historians, and is of first-rate importance. On May 22nd, 1631, he sailed from Weymouth in the ship *Alexander*, powerfully armed and equipped, and after a prosperous voyage arrived at Barbados on July 1st. His description of Barbados, itself of great value and interest, will be referred to at a later stage in this survey. Leaving Barbados, the *Alexander* made its way northward for St. Christophers. But off the coast of Dominica two Spanish men-of-war suddenly put out to sea and engaged in a running fight with the *Alexander*—to the chagrin of Sir Henry Colt, who was a good Catholic and had fought for the King of Spain in the Netherlands.[1] Having shaken off their pursuers, the voyagers had much ado to beat their way back to St. Christophers without attracting the attention of the Spanish fleet at Guadeloupe. Having at last fetched up at Nevis, Colt immediately sent word to warn Sir Thomas Warner of the near presence of a Spanish force; and he in his turn passed on the warning to the Dutch at St. Martins. The prospect of another Spanish invasion was naturally the cause of much alarm among the planters, who were only just beginning to recover from the effects of the previous disaster. The nervous tension existing in Nevis is well described by Sir Henry Colt. Warner, however, faced the situation manfully. He "traynes his men, appoynts his Court of gards, setts forth his Centinells, and w$^{th.}$ great care and diligence visitts them day and night."[2]

Fortunately the peril passed, and the planters settled down to their work of reconstruction. But it is a significant commentary on the low condition to which the

[1] *Voyage of Sir Henry Colt*, pp. 78–81, 88–89 below.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 86 below. Colt lays his finger on the real cause of the planters' weakness when he states that St. Christophers could easily be maintained against attack, if only "ye men servants who are ye greatest numbers could be brought to fight." Indentured servants, whose condition was often worse than that of the negro slaves, regarded any foreign invasion as an opportunity of gaining release from their bondage.

colony had been reduced, that Sir Henry Colt, on coming ashore, was obliged to live in a tent until he and his men had, with great difficulty, found wood to build log huts for themselves.[1]

Yet, despite the harassing conditions, the struggling settlement slowly won its way towards prosperity. Year by year fresh ground was brought under cultivation and more tobacco exported to the English market. As early as December, 1627, we hear of Captain Warner sending home a cargo of 20,000 lbs. of tobacco,[2] and in the following month Ralph Merrifield reported the arrival of a similar cargo of 10,000 lbs. weight.[3] In January, 1636, the ship *Margaret* landed no less than "12 Tonn of St. Christophers Tobaccoe."[4] In fact, so steady was the increase in production that three years later Warner was able to state that the annual export duties in the island amounted to the substantial sum of £12,000.[5]

With the accession of wealth, Warner and his men began to look beyond the limits of their first home and entertain the idea of extending their activities to other islands in the Caribbean. In 1636 a scheme was launched for the settlement of the small but fertile Metalina under the leadership of Warner's son-in-law. Accompanied by the Governor himself the expedition made a tour of the English colonies in the West Indies. In most of the islands Warner was met with "a willing reception and due respect"; different treatment, however, awaited him at Barbados. It had been expected that the Metalina

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[1] We here take leave of Sir Henry Colt. After spending the winter of 1631–1632 in St. Christophers he presumably carried out his declared intention of engaging in a trading expedition to the Main, where, if occasion served, he was prepared to give the Spaniards a shrewd knock by way of retaliation for former injuries.

[2] *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1613–1680, No. 200.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 199.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 351.

[5] *Cal. Col.*, 1574–1660, p. 295.

scheme would induce at least twenty-five Barbadians to embark for that island. But Henry Hawley, the haughty and intractable governor, would have none of it, and turned Warner away empty and indignant.[1]

In 1639 a more ambitious venture was undertaken to the island of Santa Lucia. But here the dangers and difficulties of which the St. Christopher settlers had had such bitter experience proved insurmountable. After struggling on in want and misery for some time, the colony was almost exterminated by an Indian attack in 1641, and the survivors straggled back to the older settlements.[2] Pioneering in the West Indies was no child's play.

Yet, notwithstanding these rebuffs, the planters of St. Christophers persisted in their ventures. In 1642 Captain William Jackson, bound for the Spanish Main (where for three years he spread universal terror and confusion), sent his Vice-Admiral to St. Christophers seeking volunteers. And so attractive was the prospect of Spanish gold and of revenge for former injuries that a force of 250 men was raised in the island to join the expedition.[3]

A very different sort of venture was the settlement of Antigua and Montserrat in the following year. For some time Warner had been " pestered with many controversies

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[1] *Cal. Col.*, 1574–1660, p. 240.

[2] Captain Philip Bell, of Barbados (who had taken the settlement under his protection) reported in November, 1640, " that there is an island in the West India called Santa Lucia not farre distant from Barbados lately planted by the English who are now in great want for food and Cloathing and of Armes, and Ammunition whereby to keepe and maintaine the said Island and defend themselves from the enemies and Indians." Bell accordingly received permission to transport thither 140 volunteers with a large supply of powder shot and provisions, aid which presumably arrived too late. (*Acts of Privy Council*, 1613–1680, No. 476.) It is noteworthy that in 1663 Francis Lord Willoughby made another attempt to settle Santa Lucia from Barbados, which met with a similar fate at the hands of the Caribs. C.O. 1/17, Nos. 79 and 89, P.R.O.; and *H.M.C.* XIV, 2, *Portland MSS. III*, p. 268.

[3] See " The Voyages of Capt. Wm. Jackson," ed. V. T. Harlow. *Camden Miscellany*, Vol. XIII.

of the planters,"[1] not the least of which had been dissensions on the subject of religion. New settlers from England and Ireland had brought the troubles then brewing in the Mother Country with them. Wrangling and rioting had so become the order of the day that Warner at last determined to get rid of the unruly elements by shipping them off elsewhere. Accordingly in 1643 a party of Irish Roman Catholics were settled in Montserrat, and other religious malcontents were sent to colonise Antigua. Religious enthusiasts are usually men of character and virility ; and perhaps it was for this reason that these two settlements prospered and flourished.

Thus we have seen a small band of determined men win their way in the face of starvation, massacre and European rivalry. We have seen them maintain and consolidate their first precarious footing on St. Christophers, and then expand to the other islands in the north of the Caribbean. They followed in the footsteps of the Elizabethans and laid the foundations of empire in one corner of the New World. And here, on the eve of the great constitutional struggle in England into which the islanders found themselves unwillingly drawn, we must leave them for a while, and turn our attention to the record of English enterprise in Barbados.

Barbados.

This island of Barbados in the Southern or Windward section of the Caribbean Group differs considerably from St. Christophers, not only in its natural features, but also in the early history of its settlement. Instead of a cloud-capped Mount Misery dominating an upland of crags and ravines and a coastal plain, Barbados presents to the eye a stretch of land with few hills or rivers, rising gently and gradually from the sea. Before the colonisers came,

[1] *Cal. Col.*, 1574–1660, p. 240, *op. cit.*

the island was thickly covered with primeval forest, in which large herds of wild hogs roamed at large. But now the woods have gone, and the traveller's gaze is met by planters' houses and negro cabins dotted among the sugar canes, and by the handsome port of Bridgetown.

Different also in many respects were the difficulties with which the first settlers had to contend. Here, fortunately, were no savage Indians to threaten their existence, nor did the Spaniards or the French ever seriously threaten their destruction. Such advantages, however, were largely counter-balanced by a succession of disputes with individuals and parties in the Mother Country, in consequence of which the colony was hampered by internal friction and strife for many a year to come.

In 1624 Sir William Courteen,[1] a partner in the Anglo-Dutch firm of Courteen and Co., arrived in England (much as Warner had done four years before) full of a project to colonise a fertile and uninhabited island in the West Indies named Barbados. The idea was received with favour by the firm and by other merchant adventurers who agreed to participate in the venture; and eventually on February 17th, 1627, Captain Henry Powell landed with forty men upon the island.

As soon as the work of clearing was well in hand, Henry Powell left his nephew John in charge, and continued his voyage to the Dutch settlement on the River Essequibo in Guiana, where he was kindly received by the Governor,

[1] The Courteen family were Flemings, its founder having fled from Menin to London in order to avoid the persecution of the Duke of Alva. The father soon established a prosperous business connection with the Netherlands, which the two sons William and Peter continued and expanded. Trading relations were opened up with both the East and West Indies and Greenland. On the death of the father in 1606, a company was formed which, in addition to William and Peter Courteen, included Peter Boudaan and V. G. Money of London, both connections by marriage. The former was a member of a Committee of the Zeeland Chamber in his capacity of a Director of the Dutch West India Coy. (*Sloane MSS.* 3515. Cf. Edmundson *E.H.R.*, Vol. XVI, Oct., 1901.)

Amos von Groenewegen (Gromwegle), an old companion of his.[1] The purpose of the visit was primarily to obtain roots and seeds for planting in Barbados; but a further object was probably to reinforce this Zeeland settlement with which the Courteen firm was connected.[2]

The story of how a band of Arrawaco Indians followed Henry Powell down the Essequibo in canoes, begging permission to go to Barbados and assist in the venture, and how they were subsequently betrayed into slavery there, is graphically told by Powell himself.[3]

Yet, notwithstanding the active help of the experienced Groenewegen and the arrival of further reinforcements from England, the colony made but moderate progress. When our old acquaintance, Sir Henry Colt, arrived at Barbados in 1631, he had some severe criticisms to offer. Not only were the indentured servants far too idle and lazy, but the planters themselves were too much addicted to liquor which fomented quarrels. "Your younge and hott bloods should not have oyle added to encrease ye flame, but rather cold water to quench it." The management of their plantations, too, he considered far from praiseworthy. "Behold ye ordre of them; first in 10 dayes trauayle about them, I never saw any man at work, your ground and plantations shewes whatt you are, they lye like ye ruines of some village lately burned—heer a great timber tree half burned, in another place a rafter singed all black, ther stands a stubb of a tree aboue two yeards high, all ye earth couered black wth cinders, nothing

[1] Major John Scott's "Description of Barbados," *Sloane MSS.* 3662, f. 62, *et seq.* This story of the visit to Groenewegen has frequently been discounted by historians, but Dr. Edmundson (*op. cit.*) in this and on other points conclusively proves by comparison with Spanish and Dutch documents, the reliability of Major Scott as an historian (cf. pp. lvi–lviii below). The depositions of Henry Powell and other contemporaries (printed below from *Rawl. MSS.*, "C" 94) also substantiate the story.

[2] See Henry Powell's statement, "and there I lefte eight men and lefte them a cargezon of trade for that place" (p. 37 below and footnote there appended).

[3] See pp. 37–38 below.

is cleer; whatt digged or weeded for beautye? All are bushes, and long grasse, all things carryinge ye face of a desolate and disorderly shew to ye beholder."[1]

We have already witnessed the mischievous effects in St. Christophers of the Carlisle proprietorship, and seen how the enterprise of Ralph Merrifield and his associates was deprived of its reward. But the enforcement of Carlisle's authority in Barbados was a much more serious matter, and to a greater degree hampered the development of the colony. In the case of St. Christophers it was a matter of straightforward negotiation between Warner and the Earl. Unfortunately for Barbados, however, the question became entangled with the conflicting claims of rival courtiers.

Scenting trouble, Sir Wm. Courteen had as early as 1626 induced that indefatigable promoter of colonial ventures, Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, to secure a patent for Barbados on his behalf.[2] When, therefore, the King lightheartedly granted the whole of the Caribee Islands (and so including Barbados) to the Earl of Carlisle on July 2nd, 1627, there was trouble. And it was not until after a series of moves and countermoves that a definite decision was arrived at. Pembroke, while retaining Tobago and Grenada which had been mentioned in his patent, was obliged to surrender all claim to Barbados, which on April 7th, 1629, was definitely confirmed as within the jurisdiction of Carlisle.[3]

The resistance to Carlisle in Barbados was consequently much more strenuous than in St. Christophers. The Proprietor was faced by the opposition of a wealthy trading company with powerful influence behind it, and consisting of men who were not prepared to lose their extensive

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[1] See pp. 66-67 below.

[2] *Rawlinson MSS.*, "C" 94, f. 27.

[3] *Cal. Col.* 1574–1660, p. 91.

commitments on the island without a struggle. The Courteen planters, too, fearing (as later events justified) the confiscation of their estates, prepared for an active defence of their rights. Indeed, the situation plainly points the moral that autocracy is far from being the type of government best calculated to further colonial expansion. What is gained in the way of unity of command is more than counterbalanced by the restriction of individual enterprise.

On February 3rd, 1628, a royal letter was despatched to one Captain Wolverston,[1] wherein the Courteen settlers were strictly commanded "to conforme themselves imediately upon the declaracon of these our Letters to the order Rule and Government of the said Earle of Carlisle."[2] Fearing probably that open hostilities might arise, Carlisle himself wrote a letter in a more conciliatory tone to Captain Powell and his people, assuring them that he had "given charge to Captain Wolverston soe to demeane and behave himselfe that neither he nor his people give you anie just occasion of offence or trouble."[3] Thus armed, Wolverston and 64 men set sail from St. Christophers in the following May.

On arrival, Powell and his men received the Carlisle contingent with civility and allowed them to occupy and plant a part of the island, but steadily refused to recognise the Proprietor's authority. Matters, of course, could not remain at this pass for long. Soon afterwards Wolverston

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[1] Wolverston had been elected to take charge of the 10,000 acres in Barbados which Carlisle had already leased to Colonel Royden and other creditors of his in London in composition for his debts. After his election, Carlisle appointed Wolverston his Governor and Commander-in-Chief in Barbados for three years. (*Some Memoirs of the First Settlement of Barbadoes . . . Extracted from Ancient Records . . .*", p. 9, Barbados, 1741.) Colonel (later Sir) Marmaduke Royden was a prominent London merchant and financier, who, with his associates, is said to have sunk £10,000 in developing the area in Barbados held from Carlisle. (See under name in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

[2] *Trinity College, Dublin, MSS.*, G. 4, 15, No. 736, pp. 33-35 below.

[3] *Rawlinson MSS.*, "C" 94, p. 36 below.

succeeded in seizing Captain Powell and imprisoning him, and the Courteen planters temporarily submitted.[1]

Space forbids a detailed account of what followed. As reinforcement happened to arrive from Courteen or Carlisle, so did either party in turn obtain the upper hand. The action of Captain Henry Hawley in 1629 is typical of the violence and cruelty which the dispute had fomented. As soon as his ship, the *Carlisle*, dropped anchor at Bridgetown he invited on board the unsuspecting John Powell, with his brother William and others of the Courteen settlement to share a meal. The guests were seized, stripped, and remained bound to the mainmast for over a month. Eventually they were shipped to St. Christophers, where the unfortunates arrived just in time for the Spanish attack on that island and were taken prisoners.

By this time the protracted dispute between the rival claims of Pembroke and Carlisle had been terminated by a decision in favour of the latter. To Pembroke, with his vast interests in North America and elsewhere, the loss was not of the first importance. But to Sir William Courteen, who had such a large portion of his private capital in the venture, the extinction of his rights in Barbados was a serious matter. No compensation was afforded him, and very little to those of his employees who were evicted from their estates. Years afterwards his descendants, having fallen on evil days, petitioned again and again for some form of reparation, but with no success.

The struggle having been brought to a close, it was to be expected that the rival planters in Barbados would settle down and work together in peace. Unfortunately the spirit of unrest and indiscipline continued to flourish unabated. Faction and feud seem to be the inevitable

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[1] Memoirs, *op. cit.*

bane of small communities cut off from the rest of the world. The lack of outside entertainment drives them in upon themselves, and friction ensues.

To this rule the Barbadians were no exception. They wrangled and fought right lustily upon the least provocation. At the same time the prominence given to these disputes in governors' despatches and reports must not blind us to the fact that silently and unobtrusively these early empire-builders were carrying out their arduous task in the face of great difficulty and danger. Indians and French, it is true, did not constitute a standing menace as at St. Christophers; but starvation was never far from their doors, and experience in the art of making sugar and tobacco was only learnt by repeated failure.

The natural pugnacity of the planters was undoubtedly inflamed by the high-handed methods of the Carlisle Governors. Of this the outstanding example is Captain Henry Hawley, who had already given an earnest of his capabilities in his despicable treachery to the Powells. In May, 1629, Sir William Tufton arrived from England as Governor of the island, and proceeded to embark on a policy of social reform in a manner calculated to annoy the planters. Seizing the opportunity, Hawley fanned the smouldering discontent into open mutiny. Then, not content with undermining Tufton's authority on the island itself, Hawley and his party maligned him to the Earl of Carlisle, with the desired result that Tufton was superseded and Hawley reappointed in his stead.[1] The final act in the drama took place in the following year (1630), when Tufton was arraigned on a flimsy charge before a Summary Court Martial, and was condemned and shot. As Major John Scott remarks, "the people of the Island doe generally say Sir Wm. Tufton had seveere measure."[2]

[1] See Lord Dorchester's Account. C.O. 1/5. No. 30, P.R.O.

[2] Major John Scott's Account. *Sloane MSS.* 3662, f. 60B.

Thus secured, Hawley proceeded to play the tyrant, and many were the planters' complaints against his arbitrary and high-handed doings. Indeed, until the death of the first Earl of Carlisle in 1634, he seems to have exercised the powers of a mediaeval feudal chieftain. In that year the confusion which arose between the young earl and the host of his father's creditors (who all hoped to secure a composition of their debts by administering the English possessions in the West Indies) caused Hawley to adopt desperate measures for the retention of his power. One of the foremost of these creditors was the Earl of Warwick who, being a courtier as well as a vigorous promoter of colonisation, seemed likely to obtain the control which he desired. This, at any rate, was the opinion of Hawley, who now became his representative in Barbados.[1]

It was for this reason that the latter refused to recognise Warner's temporary commission as the King's Governor-General in the West Indies, or (as we have already seen) to provide volunteers for the settlement of Metalina.[2]

Trouble arose when in 1639 the young Earl himself attempted to establish his own authority by sending out Sergeant-Major Henry Huncks to be Governor. Hearing of this, Hawley hurried back from a visit to England, and reached Barbados before his rival. By playing on their dislike of the Carlisle régime, and by establishing an elective assembly, he quickly won the planters over to his side. When, therefore, Huncks appeared, he was too late; his authority was repudiated, and he was reluctantly obliged to depart for Antigua.[3]

The incident was concluded by the arrival of four royal commissioners who, despite the protests of the

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[1] *Cal. Col.*, 1574–1660, p. 286.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 240.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 291, 299–300, 305, 313. C.O. 1/10, Nos. 27, 28, 70, P.R.O. Cf. *Sloane MSS.*, 3662, f. 60B.

planters, reinstated Huncks and sent Hawley home as a prisoner, to answer for his contumacy before the Privy Council.[1] Hawley had backed the wrong horse, in other words. But the character of his reign and the violence of his methods in seizing and retaining power are indicative of the unrest which was prevalent in the island.

The twofold burden, however, of proprietary taxation and political confusion do not appear seriously to have hampered the steady growth of Barbadian prosperity. Indeed, the occasional excitement of a riot was welcome to men cut off from the social amenities of England. Within a year of the first settlement, tobacco was being exported and sold in English markets at a fair price, and in 1631 Sir Henry Colt was able to write that "now the trade of cotton fills them all with hope."[2] Despite the scarcity and consequent high prices of provisions, the output increased in volume year by year.

A more serious impediment was the policy of discouraging the tobacco industry pursued by statesmen of this time. Not only was tobacco regarded as harmful and pernicious in itself, but in the mercantilist view did little or nothing towards maintaining a favourable "balance of trade." According to the contemporary view of the matter, the chief end of colonies was to provide the home country with commodities which she herself was incapable of producing, and which otherwise she would be obliged to buy from foreigners, thus depleting her resources. An added reason was that the planting of tobacco instead of cereals rendered the West Indian settlement largely dependent for their food supply on traders from Holland. And as Mr. G. L. Beer has illustrated,[3] the principle of restricting colonial trade to

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[1] *Acts of the Privy Council*, Nos. 448, 449.

[2] Colt's narrative, p. 69 below. Cf. *C.S.P.* (Dom.) I, p. 411.

[3] *Origins of the British Colonial System*, 1574–1660, by G. L. Beer.

English ports, later embodied in the Navigation Acts, was already being spasmodically applied.

We thus find the commercial activities of the Barbadian planters controlled in two directions. On the one hand Naval Commanders, acting under instructions from the Privy Council, boarded all vessels which they met proceeding from the island and compelled the captain to give surety that he would take his cargo to an English and not a foreign port.[1] At the same time every effort was made to limit the actual planting of tobacco by imposing heavy tariffs.[2] Other factors, too, contributed to the ill-success of this industry upon the island. For not only are we told by Richard Ligon that " the Tobacco that grew there (was) so earthy and worthless as it would give them little or no return,"[3] but the increasing output of a superior type of tobacco from Virginia simply crowded the West Indian commodity out of the English market.[4] In the face of such adverse circumstances it is not surprising to find that the planters were hard put to it to provide their daily bread. " Hard labour," says Ligon, " and want of victuals had so much depressed their spirits, as they were come to a declining and yielding condition."[5]

Looking about them for some more lucrative employment, the settlers determined to imitate the Dutch sugar planters of Brazil. Reinforced by increasing numbers of active and intelligent exiles fleeing from the effects of the Civil War in England, the Mother Country, they began to try their fortune at the new industry. Unfortunately ignorance in the art of sugar making rendered their early

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[1] Cf. *Log book of Captain Pennington* (1634). *H.M.C.* x. *Lord Muncaster's MSS.*, Vol. 4, pp. 285–286 and 292; also *Acts of Privy Council*, No. 292; also *Cal. Col.* 1574–1660, pp. 113, 125, 251, etc.

[2] Cf. *Acts of Privy Council*, Nos. 269, 270, 291, 330, etc.

[3] Ligon's *True and Exact Account of Barbados*. London, 1657, p. 28

[4] *Sloane MSS.* 3662, f. 59.

[5] Ligon, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

efforts abortive. It was only after two or three years of failure that the proper methods of planting, grinding, and boiling were learnt from the Dutch and applied. The hardship and anxiety attending this period may well be imagined. But Roundhead and Royalist alike worked with patience,—experimenting, learning, and finally achieving success. Indeed, the economic development of Barbados between the years 1640 and 1650 was extraordinary. During this decade the value of land increased by nearly 200 per cent., and in 1650 the value of the season's crop was estimated at more than three million pounds.[1]

So swift an accession of wealth at a time when civil war had rendered the home market virtually non-existent was only made possible by trading with the Dutch. These traders, with their inexpensive ships and superior banking system, proved a godsend to the struggling English settlements. By availing themselves of the easy terms which were offered, the planters were able to buy from them "negroes, coppers, stills, and all other things appertaining to the . . . making of sugar."[2] And still more important, the Dutch were able to provide them with food. When at a later date the aggrieved merchants of England induced the Government to forbid this trade with the foreigner by the enactment of Navigation Laws, the Barbadians were consequently amongst the most strenuous of the opponents of that policy.

Meanwhile this little English community had been doing its utmost to keep its doors shut against the storm which was sweeping over the motherland. When the long-standing quarrel between King and Parliament was finally referred in 1642 to the arbitrament of war,

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[1] Ligon, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

[2] *Sloane MSS.* 3662, f. 59A.

Barbados pursued a policy of strict neutrality.[1] For though predominantly royalist in sentiment, the planters perceived that their only hope of receiving supplies from England was to trade with king's man and parliamentarian alike. This policy the aged and experienced Governor, Philip Bell, steadfastly pursued in spite of increasing difficulty. For as the king's cause began to wane, more and more royalist prisoners of war preferred the alternative of transportation to the amenities of the Tower, thus bringing the seeds of strife with them.

For some time, however, peace was maintained. If anyone, so Ligon tells us, was tactless enough to use the provocative terms of "roundhead" or "royalist," he was subject to the penalty of providing a substantial dinner to all who heard him.[2] And while the struggle in England was still undecided, there was little danger of coercion from either Charles or Parliament, who both had to content themselves with admonitions and pious hopes. All attempts therefore by either party to secure recognition met with polite but firm refusal. The Earl of Marlborough, whose commission to be the King's representative in the West Indies had been accepted at St. Christophers and Antigua, could make no headway at Barbados. On the other hand, the repeated attempts of Parliament to vindicate its authority met with no better success.

In November, 1643, a parliamentary committee, including Pym and Cromwell and headed by the Earl of Warwick, had been established to deal with all matters relating to the colonies.[3] Within a few weeks Warwick wrote to the Governor's Council of Barbados informing them of this fact and demanding their allegiance. But

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[1] *Egerton MSS.* 2395, f. 48 *et seq.* "A Briefe Relation of the Beginning and Ending of the Troubles of the Barbados, with the true causes thereof," by A. B.

[2] Ligon, p. 57.

[3] *Lords Journals*, VI, pp. 291A and 291B.

the island government stood firm, announcing their unalterable determination to remain neutral.[1]

During the next few years Barbados was subjected to increasing pressure from both sides. On the one hand, Warwick wrote letter after letter to his old friend Philip Bell and to the Barbadian Council, urging submission to the various commissioners whom he despatched to the island. And as the parliamentary forces became more victorious in the field, so did the tone of Warwick's letters grow increasingly dictatorial. At the same time the stream of royalist emigrants to the island, burning as they were with indignation against the party which had deprived them of home and fortune, rendered the Governor's pacific policy more and more difficult to maintain.

One example of the correspondence between Barbados and the Parliament must here suffice. In 1647, on the collapse of the royalist cause, Warwick wrote as follows to Governor Bell :—

> " I was in hopes ere this time to have received advertisement of the Islands sending a perfect obedience to the Parliament, which would certainly have much advantaged and secured the Interest and Trade of the Inhabitants. One action I find to have a tendencie that way which is a rejecting of that power (which others ?) would have assumed.[2] But surely they may not expect that establishment and other accomodations necessary to the making of theire Estates secure and happie, till they shall intirely declare theire subjection to the Parliaments Comands, which can have no other thing in designe but making our Countreymens Condition abroade both honourable to the nation and beneficiall to themselves by such a

[1] *Lords Journals*, IX, p. 51B.

[2] *I.e.*, the rejection of Marlborough's commission from Charles.

declaration. I shoulde bid thee more welcomes, that I might be in a better Capacity thereby to testify the Constancie of my affection towards you, which will very gladly embrace a good opportunity to assure you it's reall as well as ancient. Your owne endeavours I believe may contribute much to such resolutions. And in the putting of them forth in the most effectual manner for that end, you cannot but have most comfort. You will I suppose by those that are now going from hence be informed of the true State of Affaires here, which if well considered may rationally and stronglie advise the deserting of whatever may disoblige the Parliaments Care and respect towards you, whereof I would have you seriously to consider."[1]

In the same year a more pressing danger to Barbadian neutrality presented itself in the action taken by the Earl of Carlisle. On the outbreak of war the estates of the Earl, who was a royalist, had been sequestered. But in 1644 he had compounded with Parliament by paying a fine of £800, thus regaining his rights in the Caribee Islands.[2] Having hitherto failed to secure the desired submission from Barbados, Parliament decided to make use of the reinstated Proprietor, and on March 2nd, 1647, granted him a pass to proceed to the West Indies and assume direct control. Realising at once that Carlisle's arrival would precipitate a struggle on the island, the planters urged Parliament to suspend his pass, and institute an enquiry into the validity of his proprietorship. Fortunately powerful support was forthcoming from the numerous merchant creditors of the First Earl, who

[1] *Stowe MSS.* 184, ff. 124B–125A. This valuable collection of letters does not appear to have been hitherto utilised by historians. For other communications for the Warwick Committee see *Lords Journals*, VII, p. 192B ; IX, pp. 49A, 51A and 51B, etc.

[2] *Commons Journals*, III, pp. 709, 732 ; *Lords Journals*, VII, p. 192B ; IX, p. 49A.

had as yet received nothing of the money owing to them, and who realised that once the young Earl assumed direct control the last vestige of such hope was gone.[1] The upshot was that the Plantations Committee held a special court of enquiry, before which many of the original settlers made sworn depositions. Therein the priority of the Courteen occupation was conclusively proved.[2] After further enquiry the court decided that it would be unwise to allow Carlisle to proceed thither; but as no one came forward to represent the claims of the late Sir William Courteen, the Carlisle proprietorship was not interfered with.[3]

Notwithstanding this victory, the aged Governor and the more sober element in Barbados began to find the struggle for peace too hard for them. All over the island were ex-officers of King Charles, many of them young hot-headed gallants, and all men of daring and initiative. Led by two turbulent brothers, Humphrey and Edward Walrond, they set to work to seize control of Barbados in the King's name. In this purpose they were greatly aided by the personal fascination which Humphrey Walrond exerted over Philip Bell and his wife.

The first step in the conspiracy was to oust all moderate men from official posts and replace them by active royalists. For the great majority of the islanders, though royalist in sentiment, were not prepared to declare themselves and so jeopardise their new-found prosperity by coming into collision with the victorious Parliament. The most important of the changes effected by the royalists was

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[1] Cf. *Lords Journals*, IX, pp. 49B and 50A.

[2] "A Brief Collection of the Depositions of Witnesses . . . in a difference depending between the merchants and inhabitants of Barbados . . . and the Earl of Carlisle." *Rawlinson MSS.*, "C" 94 (Bodleian Library). Because of the light which they throw on the earliest years of colonisation in Barbados, a selection of these depositions has been included in this volume. (See pp. 25–42 below.)

[3] Sir W. Courteen had died 1636, and at this time his son was living a life of extreme poverty on the Continent. *Egerton MSS.* 2395, f. 602.

the appointment as Treasurer and Master of the Defences of Major William Byam, a man who bulks large in the story of English enterprise in Guiana.

In order to win over public opinion to their side, the royalists now spread abroad a rumour that the roundheads were hatching a plot to dispossess and expel all royalists from the island. Playing on the fear thus excited, the Walronds succeeded in overcoming opposition in the Assembly and passed a Bill which, while ostensibly safeguarding the existing system of government, was really designed to render the position of Commonwealth men in the island untenable. For not only were heavy penalties to be inflicted on all attending "conventicles," but an oath to defend the present government was imposed, which was deliberately offensive to Parliamentarians. Naturally the passage of such an Act roused the latter (headed by Colonel Drax) to vigorous protest; and on April 23rd, 1650, a general petition was presented to Bell demanding suspension of the Act and a general election.

Thus faced by two organised and angry parties, Philip Bell still struggled desperately for peace. But committal to one side or the other could no longer be evaded; and in the hope of staving off civil war he granted the demand for a new Assembly. The angry Cavaliers immediately denounced the Governor as a Commonwealth man, and pushed forward their schemes for seizing control of the island. Advancing at the head of an armed force, Humphrey Walrond so overawed the somewhat weak-willed Governor that he assented to a series of "Propositions," which reduced him to a mere puppet and gave the royalists complete direction of the government. On May 3rd, 1650, Charles Stuart was solemnly proclaimed and acknowledged King. Such was the influence of Humphrey Walrond over the Governor, that even when the moderate party prepared to rescue him he ordered

them to disband. Thus secure, the royalists began to behave in a very high-handed and arbitrary manner towards the Independents, imposing fines, confiscating estates and playing the tyrant generally.

Unfortunately for them, however, a figure now appeared on the scene which not only dwarfed the petty ambition of the Walronds into insignificance, but also played a leading part in English colonial expansion for the next seventeen years. The man in question was Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham. Landing at Bridgetown on May 5th, he presented to Philip Bell two commissions, one from the Earl of Carlisle declaring Willoughby to be his Lieutenant-General in the Caribee Islands, and another from the exiled King appointing him Royal Governor of Barbados.[1] Generous, impulsive, impatient of opposition to his far-reaching schemes, Willoughby is probably the most outstanding figure of that intermediate epoch with which this volume is concerned. His daring and adventurous spirit links him with the Elizabethans ; while, on the other hand, by fostering as he did the political and economic growth of the English settlements in the West Indies and Guiana, he helped to lay the foundations for subsequent development. Although it is, of course, impossible to divide the history of colonial expansion into water-tight compartments, it may be said with some truth that Lord Willoughby's career completes the " Age of Pioneers," that period in which the exploits of the Elizabethans were turned to account, and later consolidation made possible. Discovery, pioneering, consolidation, and the most difficult of all is pioneering. For the pioneer is faced by the perils of the explorer, but without the attendant glamour, and endures the extremes of physical fatigue,

[1] *T.C.D. MSS.* (G. 4. 15), pp. 1–28; *Cal. Col.*, 1574–1660, p. 327. The Earl of Carlisle had leased the Caribee Islands to Lord Willoughby for 21 years, half the profits going to the Earl.

while the fruits of his labour are mostly gathered by those that follow after.

The appearance of Lord Willoughby spread consternation among the Walrond party. For here was a man with authority which in the royalist view was unimpeachable; a man commissioned by the exile Charles Stuart himself. Their little day seemed to be over. There was just a chance, however, that Willoughby might be reduced to the subordinate position hitherto occupied by Philip Bell. With this in view, the Walronds exerted such pressure that Willoughby agreed to delay his assumption of office for three months. The interval thus gained was used by the Walronds in a feverish attempt to ruin the Commonwealth party in Barbados. Nearly a hundred of the leading Independents were ordered to depart the island;[1] and those who were lucky enough to escape the confiscation of their estates were compelled to pay heavy fines and also imposts for the upkeep of the royalist army. The persecution is vividly portrayed by a worthy and indignant young Puritan to his father in a letter printed below. "These men," he wrathfully exclaims, "are as if ye Divell had overpowered them; indeed, he hath possest them; their Wiell is extreame. These are ye men that cary ye buissines, whether it pleaseth my Lord (Willoughby) or noe; and my Lord can now dare doe nothing without them."[2]

At the same time Willoughby himself was endeavouring to persuade the people of the Windward Islands to forsake their neutrality and acknowledge him as the representative of both King and Proprietor. Governor Ashton and the men of Antigua were ardent royalists, but Nevis and St. Christophers steadily resisted all Willoughby's efforts.

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[1] C.O. 1/11, No. 17, P.R.O.

[2] "A Letter from Barbados by ye Way of Holland concerning ye Condicon of Honest men there," August 9th, 1651; pp. 48–53 below. (*Tanner MSS.* 54, f. 153–154.)

Replying on July 13th, 1659, to his overtures, the Governor, Council and Assembly of St. Christophers wrote as follows:—"We have heretofore, since the beginning of those unhappy differences in our native Countrey by severall Petitions supplicated his Royall Majestie and allsoe the Lords and Comons then assembled in Parliament, That in respect our Partakeinge with either partie would doe good to neither, and yett tend to the inevitable ruine of us the poore Inhabitants of this place, that it would please his Majesty and likewise the Parliament to suffer us to remaine under the same Government wee formerly enjoyed without alteration, untill it should please God to make a Period of those unhappy Differences." Since that time they had enjoyed uninterrupted neutrality. "But should wee yeeld," they added, "to receive your Honour in the manner by you Proposed, wee should bee debarred of the Trafique without which wee cannot subsist, render ourselves exiles unto our Native soile, And yett bee noe way beneficiall unto his Majestie, (or) the Earl of Carlisle . . . "[1] Further attempts proved equally futile, and on January 31st, 1651, Lord Willoughby's commissioners were ordered "to Depart this Island too morrow by Tenn of the Clocke in the morninge."[2]

Meanwhile Willoughby had put a stop to the Walronds' campaign of persecution, and was making desperate efforts to conciliate the English Parliament. But the stories taken home by exiled planters smarting from their injuries brought to a head the long-standing exasperation of Whitehall against the stubborn colony, and active preparations for an expedition thither were set on foot.[3] Realising that he would have to fight for it,

[1] *Tanner MSS.* 54, f. 209B (Bodleian).

[2] *Ibid.*, f. 211.

[3] Already on October 3rd, 1650, an Act had been passed "prohibiting trade and commerce to Barbados, Antigua, Virginia and the Somers Islands because of their rebellion against the Commonwealth and Government of England." C.O. 1/11, No. 21, P.R.O.; *Commons Journals*, VI, p. 478.

Willoughby, who by his moderation had gained the confidence of the majority of the planters, prepared for a vigorous defence. In a well-known and inspiring manifesto the Barbadians repudiated the various pretensions of Parliament, concluding in a manner worthy of Hampden or Pym: "Wherefore having rightly considered, we declare, that as we would not be wanting to use all honest means for the obtaining of a continuation of commerce, trade, and good correspondence with our country, soe wee will not alienate ourselves from these old heroic virtues of true Englishmen, to prostitute our freedom and privileges, to which we are borne, to the will and opinion of anyone."[1]

Luckily for the islanders, Sir George Ayscue and the Parliament fleet were for several reasons delayed, and did not arrive at Barbados until October 15th, 1651 Ayscue soon found that he was too weak to attempt a landing in the face of the defending army, which numbered 6,000 foot and 400 horse, and contented himself with blockading the island with his fleet and endeavouring to break the morale of the Barbadians by a series of sudden and destructive raids. Despite constant cajoling, however, Lord Willoughby stood firm;[2] and it was not until Ayscue succeeded in inducing Colonel Modiford and the moderate party to desert the royalist cause that Willoughby agreed to surrender the island. The Articles which were agreed to on January 11th, 1652, after negotiations, were very favourable to the royalists. In return for reinstating the evicted Independents they were to be given a general pardon and all their estates in the home country. Willoughby himself received particularly generous terms.[3]

[1] A printed copy of this Declaration is included in *King's Pamphlets*, British Museum, E. 644 (4).

[2] A copy of the full correspondence between Ayscue and Willoughby is to be found in *Tanner MSS.* 55 (Bodleian), and has been printed by Darnell Davis in his work *Cavaliers and Roundheads in Barbados.*

[3] For the Articles of the Peace, see *Addit. MSS.* (B.M.) 11411, f. 95.

Not only were his rights in England and in the West Indies guaranteed, but his new and flourishing settlement in Guiana (to which we shall shortly turn our attention) was confirmed in his possession.[1] Before departing to establish the Parliament's authority in the Leeward Islands, Ayscue so remodelled the government in Barbados as to ensure the supremacy there of the Commonwealth party.

Thus the turbulent Barbadians, who for ten years had ruled themselves as an independent state, were once more brought into subjection to the Mother Country, and to a government which most of the planters detested. With the uneasy years which followed under the rule of the Protector Cromwell, during which the islanders strove unceasingly against the trade policy of the Navigation Act, and hopefully awaited their deliverer in the form of Prince Rupert, we are not directly concerned.[2] From the point of view of colonial enterprise, the only feature of importance was the well-known expedition to the West Indies under Colonel Venables and Admiral Penn in 1655.[3] Grossly misinformed, Cromwell had imagined that an English expedition would be able to draw such supplies of food, equipment and reinforcements from Barbados that the expulsion of the Spaniards from all Central America would be a comparatively easy task. As it turned out, the Barbadians were too angry to provide many men, and too scantily supplied themselves to afford food or equipment. The rosy vision of an English empire

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[1] According to these Articles, Willoughby had been granted freedom of movement. But later the Commonwealth Commissioners broke the treaty by procuring an order for Willoughby to proceed to England and not return without permission of Parliament. *Acts of Barbados*, No. 67. London, 1673.

[2] The chief authorities for this period are the *Thurloe State Papers*, Vols. III and IV, and a collection of important letters in *Addit. MSS.* 11411 (B.M.).

[3] For full details of this important expedition see *The Narrative of Col. Venables*, edited by C. H Firth.

in Mexico and Peru was reduced in actual fact to the sole (though important) acquisition of the island of Jamaica.

The Restoration of 1660, hailed with jubilation in Barbados, was succeeded by a maze of complicated intrigue. The planters, in league with the merchants of London, strove once more to obtain the cancellation of the Carlisle proprietorship ; and Lord Willoughby, despite his personal popularity, could do little to obtain recognition. When at last it was decided to abolish the proprietorship and Willoughby arrived at Barbados as the King's Governor (August, 1663), it was only with the greatest difficulty that he persuaded the suspicious planters to vote the Crown a permanent grant of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on all exports. The fact that the Merry Monarch handed over this revenue to a lady friend and lifted not a finger to fulfil his share of the bargain by providing for the defence of the Caribee Islands, gave rise to the perpetual wrangling and bitterness which marked the relations of the planters with the Home Government for the next two hundred years.

How deeply seated was the resentment of the planters on this score was plainly shown in time of war. Even when the enemy was thundering at the gate and the existence of the English in the West Indies was at stake, the planters stubbornly and persistently maintained that as they were paying their $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., it was for the King, and not for them, to provide for defence. It was only when Barbados was on the brink of disaster that the impassioned pleadings of Willoughby carried the day and the necessary supplies were voted. Once the planters had submitted they characteristically enough afforded him the most generous support, and even impaired their own resources in their efforts to succour their fellow countrymen in the Leeward Islands.

Thus far these sturdy settlers have been struggling for existence against the forces of nature and the spirit of internal dissension. Now a new peril looms upon their

horizon. They are called upon to fight against a rival European power in order to retain that footing which their enterprise and labour had won for them. In 1665 the long-standing trade jealousy between England and the United Provinces flamed into open war. The available evidence seems to indicate that responsibility for the actual outbreak lay with the Dutch. As early as September, 1664, Admiral Sir John Lawson sent an express to Sir Richard Fanshawe, the English ambassador at Madrid, warning him that "De Ruyter has taken in great stores of wine, oil and bread, and is believed to have sailed for (the) Guinney coast,"[1] and requesting him to inform the King at once. English officials abroad came to the conclusion that De Ruyter was lying off the African coast with his fleet, in order that as soon as war was officially declared he might be able to seize and destroy the English forts in Guinea. The chief irritant was the bitter rivalry between the English 'Company of Royal Adventurers trading to Africa'[2] and the Dutch, who had done their utmost by threats and violence to exclude the English from the slave trade. Two months later (November 30th, 1664) Fanshawe wrote to Secretary Sir George Downing that a Dutch envoy had passed through Madrid with the premature announcement that war had been declared. "I thought it possible," added

[1] *H.M.C. Heathcote MSS.* (1664, September 27th), p. 166. Cf. Sir Edward Turner to Sir Richard Fanshawe (October 13th, 1664): "I suppose you hear that the Dutch and we are likely to fall out. As yet we ride upon the fore-horse, but we hear De Ruyter is stolen to Guynney with a design to do us some mischief . . . Prince Rupert is gone out with a strong party to see what they do there; Sir John Lawson is returned, and the Earl of Sandwich is abroad with a good strength to watch their motions nearer home; and the Duke of York is now preparing . . . to go himself and see the issue of the business." *Ibid.*, p. 168.

[2] Founded January 10th, 1663. See C.O. 1/17, No. 2, P.R.O. Previous African Companies having failed, a new monopolistic company was formed in 1668, to which members of the royal family and many leading statesmen subscribed. It was not until the conclusion of the war in 1667 that the right of Englishmen to participate in this trade was recognised by the Dutch.

Fanshawe, " he might be sent to De Ruyter, with orders to begin hostilities on a certain day, and I have since found that he carried orders to be despatched to Guinea." [1]

As soon as De Ruyter received his expected instructions he launched a swift and ruthless attack on the unprepared English forts and shipping on the African coast. The details of these " barbarityes " are well told in the sea-captain's narrative printed below.[2]

Meanwhile Barbados was in a fever of excitement. In February, 1665, the King had sent warning to Willoughby that De Ruyter was off the African coast with twelve men-of-war, and that he would probably descend upon Barbados in accordance with the known intention of the Dutch Government. Accordingly, ships and forts were put in a posture of defence, the militia was called out, and a constant watch maintained. As it turned out this vigilance saved Barbados. For when in the early morning of April 20th De Ruyter's fleet sailed into Carlisle Bay, the Barbadians were able to give him a warm reception. The spirited narrative, which is included in the present collection, gives a vividly realistic picture of the progress of the fight hour by hour. By six in the evening the Dutchmen had had enough, and stood away for Martinique, " in the confusedest manner that possible could be."

Writing to his wife after reaching Martinique, De Ruyter admitted that nine men had been killed and twenty-two

[1] *H.M.C. Heathcote MSS.*, p. 170. English opinion on this point is well illustrated in a letter from Secretary Williamson at Whitehall to Sir Andrew King (January 16th, 1665). In reply as to who were the aggressors, he writes: " Now it is without all doubt that they (*i.e.*, the Dutch) are so, since the evidence of what de Ruither hath done on the coast of Guiny, and that by their instructions, and (is) now owned to be so, since they can no longer hide it ; for till now it is to be observed that all along, to the French King, to Sir George Downing, to the King and all the world they denied any such thing or that he was gone that way . . ." Williamson concludes by showing that the English factors had not provoked the Dutch to hostilities on the Guinea coast. *Ibid.*, pp. 174–175.

[2] See pp. 103–108 below.

wounded on his ship alone;[1] while Henry Willoughby, despite the heavy damage done to Bridgetown, reported only three Barbadians killed and about ten wounded.[2] After staying some time at Martinique for rest and repairs, De Ruyter sailed to the Leeward Islands, where he was more successful. At Nevis and Montserrat he captured sixteen large English merchant ships and took them along with him.[3] Then skilfully eluding the vigilance of the English fleet, he made his way home to Holland. "Our last letters from the north," writes Sir Richard Fanshawe, "assure us that De Ruyter hath gone home, creeping safe through all our watches." On reaching home he was immediately chosen to command the Holland Fleet."[4] In the following June, under De Ruyter's guidance, that fleet fought the stubborn four days' battle with the English in the Downs.

While the Barbadian planters had been defending themselves with such resolution, Lord Willoughby had been absent on a visit to the English colony at Surinam in Guiana, of which he was the founder and proprietor. At his return he was faced by a very difficult situation. Barbados was in obvious danger from the Dutch, and yet there was no means of securing adequate defence. Before the war had actually broken out, Willoughby had only succeeded in obtaining a few cannon; and ammunition was all too scanty. "What cann ye Gunns doe without Powder?" he very pertinently asked.[5] Moreover, in the engagement with De Ruyter the Barbadian gunners had

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[1] *H.M.C. Heathcote MSS.*, p. 200.

[2] C.O. 1/19, No. 51, P.R.O.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 58.

[4] *H.M.C. Heathcote MSS.*, p. 204. (Sir R. Fanshawe to Consul Westcombe, August 29th, 1665.)

[5] Willoughby to Arlington (May 20th, 1665). C.O. 1/19, No. 60, P.R.O.

used up their meagre stock of ammunition, and Willoughby was at his wits' end to know how to replenish it. As already noted, the Assembly, when asked to vote supplies for this purpose, repeatedly referred the Governor to the proper fund, the 4½ per cent. Under such trying conditions it is hardly surprising to find Lord Willoughby losing his temper and sending off as prisoners to England such obstinate and fiery individuals as Samuel Farmer, the Assembly man.

Matters had reached a virtual deadlock between Willoughby and the Assembly, when news arrived which caused general consternation. The French had declared war and joined the Dutch against us. In the face of so grave and imminent a peril the islanders gave way to the urgent entreaties of the Governor, and at last provided the much-needed support.

It was in crises such as this that Willoughby's swift and impulsive temperament excelled. By commandeering all the merchant vessels lying in port, he succeeded in fitting out an expedition of 30 ships and 600 men, which he despatched under the command of his nephew Henry Willoughby, to protect the Leeward Islands. "Better hee and I," he wrote home to the King, "and as many of our name as ever was borne, should be suncke and perish, than these islands lost."[1] Unfortunately, Henry Willoughby arrived at Antigua only to learn that St. Christophers was in the hands of the enemy. Moreover the merchant fleet which had conveyed this force insisted on proceeding to England, thus leaving Henry Willoughby cooped up in Antigua and incapable of any offensive operations.

On July 18th, 1666, however, his vigorous uncle himself set sail from Barbados with a relief expedition of

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[1] (April 21st, 1666.) C.O. 1/20, P.R.O.

eight ships and a thousand men.[1] But, as a matter of fact, Lord Willoughby's zeal had outrun his discretion, for the hurricane season was so far advanced as to make such an enterprise extremely hazardous. While the fleet was operating off the French island of Guadeloupe disaster came in the shape of a swift and terrific storm. Some of the ships ran aground ; others succeeded in beating their way to Montserrat, not having a mast standing ; but the majority went down with all hands. Lord Willoughby himself was never heard of again.[2]

In more ways than one the death of this man closed an epoch in West Indian history. The great Anglo-French struggle for empire still, of course, continued. But the phase in which new colonies appeared and struggled to maintain themselves was now merging into another wherein strong and mature settlements strove with European rivals for supremacy. Willoughby's chief claim to remembrance is not so much as a warrior or as an administrator (though he succeeded in both), but as a pioneer. In many ways he was the heir of Sir Walter Raleigh. Endowed with the same insight and imagination, and the same impulsive desire to be up and doing, he hoped, like him, to see his various settlements grow up to be " an English nation." In addition to the colony which he had founded in 1650 at Surinam in Guiana, he had taken an important part in the development of Carolina. And although his determined effort to plant a settlement on Santa Lucia had been a failure, his action eventually resulted in that island becoming British.

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[1] The generous support of the Barbadians was praised by Willoughby in a letter to the King three days before his departure. " Notwithstanding theire great want of all necessaryes, having but very scanty of bread to putt in theire mouthes, yett they have spared itt out of theire owne bellyes to sett your Majesty out a fleete . . ." C.O. 1/20, No. 120, P.R.O.

[2] See Account below, pp. 196-198.

Thus despite Indian attacks, starvation, internal feuds and civil war, and the danger of destruction by Spaniards, Dutch, and French, these small communities steadily grew in prosperity and self-reliance. Subsequently the tropical climate gradually ousted the white labourer, replacing him by the negro. White colonies in these islands have thus been converted into plantations, run by British planters but manned by coloured labour. So striking has been the change that to-day the population of Barbados consists of 180,000 negroes and half-castes as against 15,000 whites. With such an overwhelming preponderance the future must obviously lie with this coloured element. And slowly they are learning the meaning and aims of the Empire, thus preparing themselves to shoulder the burden of a more responsible type of membership.

But with the death of Lord Willoughby the age of pioneering for Barbados and the Leeward Islands is virtually over.

Tobago.

The history of British expansion in Tobago and Trinidad affords a distinct contrast to that in Barbados and the Leeward Islands. Hitherto we have been concerned with colonies which, despite vicissitudes, succeeded in retaining their identity as British communities. In their case the intermediate period of the pioneers, with which we are here concerned, links equally closely with the preceding age of exploration and with subsequent colonial history. In the case of Tobago and Trinidad, however, the course of development is different. Here, as elsewhere, came explorers and then colonising adventurers. But their efforts failed; and these islands were left in the hands of other European powers until the great struggle for maritime supremacy, which culminated in the

Napoleonic wars, placed them finally in the possession of Great Britain. Though the early expeditions thither had thus not been in vain, their importance is indirect and secondary. British pioneers established a claim, but the acquisition of Tobago and Trinidad was ultimately due to conquest and not to settlement.

The descriptions of the two islands, and also of Guiana, which are printed in this volume, are in the handwriting of Major John Scott,[1] who is perhaps best known as the bitter enemy of Pepys the diarist. The trustworthiness of Scott as an historian has often been contemptuously denied, and owing to the importance of his accounts some controversy has arisen accordingly. In one of a series of learned articles published in the *English Historical Review*, Dr. George Edmundson has subjected Major Scott's statements to a close examination and comparison with other contemporary records, both Dutch and Spanish. The conclusion at which Dr. Edmundson arrived is stated as follows:—"It is clear then in the narrative given by Scott of the early history of the Dutch colonies in Western Guiana, that we are dealing with the narrative of a contemporary, familiar with the localities about which he is writing, conversant with all the literature upon the subject, including documents and journals in manuscript, and having exceptional opportunities for personal communication with men intimately acquainted for a long period with the country and its history."[2] How

[1] See under name in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* No mention, however, is there made of his doings in the West Indies. Although an accurate historian, Scott's private life was less praiseworthy. In New England he was notorious as a swindler. (See *Procs. of Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1st Ser., Vol. VI, pp. 65–74.) Nor was he better loved in Barbados:—"By a passingar in Mr. Lann's vessell, I understand that John Scott is in limbo for treason and other hainess crimes. I also understand how he abuseth me. . . Had I him in England I should make him stand in ye pillary before ye Exchange, and have his ears." (Giles Sylvester to John Winthrop, June 28th, 1664. *Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 2nd Series, Vol. IV, p. 279.)

[2] "The Dutch in Western Guiana," by George Edmundson. *English Historical Review*, Vol. XVI (October, 1901).

minutely Major Scott's statements are corroborated by contemporary evidence the footnotes to the manuscripts printed below will illustrate. One example will serve.

Scott's story of how Gromwegle (or, to give him his proper name, Aert Adriaansz van Groenewegen) was ruling a Dutch trading settlement on the River Essequibo in Guiana as early as 1627, whence he gave substantial aid to the Powells at Barbados, has been frequently treated as a romance. Particularly has it been disputed that Groenewegen's period of office could have begun before 1657 or have lasted until 1664. In support of Major Scott Dr. Edmundson shows in the first place that the existence of a Dutch colony on the Essequibo as early as 1613 is proved by entries in the Minute Books of the "Council of Nineteen" (the Supreme Council of the Dutch West India Company) and also by Spanish records. Secondly, he points out that Jesse de Forrest, who in 1624 made a voyage to the Essequibo, not only shows on his chart the anchorage exactly before the small island where (according to Scott) Groenewegen had settled in 1616, but also gives details in his journal which tend to corroborate Scott's account in detail. In addition, he quotes the minutes of the Zeeland Chamber, which in one place mention Groenewegen as being Governor in 1645, and in another that he was in command during the years 1650 to 1664.[1] Going further, he even vindicates Scott's statement that Groenewegen was married to a Carib woman.[2] Other evidence is also brought forward, but enough has been

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[1] Edmundson produces evidence to show that in the Essequibo district there was both a Dutch trading station and also a Dutch settlement. The colonists under Van der Goes returned home in 1637, but Groenewegen and his staff remained and extended their trading operations further and further inland.

[2] Edmundson quotes from a document printed in the British Counter-Case, Venezeuelan boundary Dispute (Appendix, pp. 55, 76, etc.), which states that "Amos van Groenewegen, postholder of Demarara *circa* 1680-1700, was the son of Albert Adriaansz van Groenewegen *by an Indian mother.*"

mentioned to illustrate the convincing nature of the case which Dr. Edmundson has built up in favour of Major Scott's authenticity.

Tobago can probably boast of more expeditions to its shores than any other island in the West Indies. But until 1765 the results were invariably disastrous, the adventurers in each case finding "little other welcome then a Resting Place for their Bones." The first connection of the English with Tobago occurs in the year 1628, when it was granted with adjacent islands to the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.[1] As we have already seen, a long dispute arose between Pembroke and Carlisle regarding the ownership of Barbados, but before that matter was finally settled Pembroke sold all his rights in the West Indies, including Tobago and Trinidad, to that veteran coloniser Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick.[2]

Nothing, however, was done by the latter for some years, and the island remained the home of Indian tribes. In 1632 Jan de Moor, the Burgomaster of Flushing, who for some fifteen years had been steadily extending his trading activities up the Amazon and the Negro, founded a colony on the island consisting of two hundred Zealanders from Walcheren.[3] Two years later, however, disaster came in the form of an attack by the Spaniards and Caribs of Trinidad, who massacred or took prisoner all who did not escape inland to the woods. After the invaders had departed, the surviving planters were so discouraged that they decided to sail home to Holland.[4]

Shortly afterwards a third European power became interested in Tobago. The Duke of Courland,who cherished

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[1] *Cal. Col.*, 1574–1660, p. 91.

[2] For an account of Warwick's extensive colonial interests see Dr. A. P. Newton's *Colonising Activities of the Puritans in the 17th century*.

[3] Cf. Edmundson, *E.H.R.*, Vol. XVI, *op. cit.*

[4] *Egerton MSS.* 2395 (Brit. Mus.), f. 509, etc. The date of the attack from Trinidad is here erroneously given as 1637. Cf. also Bryan Edwards, *History of the West Indies*, Vol. IV, p. 277 (1819 edition).

a vaulting ambition to develop his state into a great commercial and maritime power, had obtained from England some rights over Tobago. It has been conjectured that as the Duke was James I's godson, the island had been presented to him as a christening gift. In any case the Duke proceeded to make good his claim by occupation, and about 1634 over two hundred Courlanders were settled on the island. Their fate is but another illustration of the difficulties with which colonisation in the West Indies was fraught. Simple peasants as they were, whose fathers had for generations lived their primitive lives by the shores of the Baltic, these men found that they were indeed in a New World. With different climate, different crops and different methods of agriculture, their inexperience inevitably doomed them to failure. As Major Scott pithily puts it, disease and ignorance "did occasion their mouldring to nothing." By 1639 the settlement had disappeared.

Yet in this same year another determined effort was made to establish a European colony in Tobago, this time by the English under the Earl of Warwick. And although Captain Marshall and his men suffered so heavily at the hands of the Caribs of St. Vincent that the survivors in 1640 were compelled to flee to Trinidad, the Earl straightway launched a second expedition. Unfortunately Captain Marshall and the settlers whom he sent thither in 1642 found the Caribs as savagely hostile as the previous adventurers had done, and sought more peaceful quarters on the River Surinam in Guiana.[1]

Meanwhile the Duke of Courland had not abandoned his ambitions. A few months after Captain Marshall's departure a company of Zealanders arrived at his direction under one Captain Caroon, an old employee of the Dutch. Yet once again the Caribs swept down upon

[1] See below, pp. 115 and 141

the newcomers and almost wiped them out. Mercifully the few survivors received support from the Arawacas of Trinidad (always the inveterate foes of the Caribs), and by their aid fled in 1650 to the Pomeroon in Guiana, where they settled down and flourished exceedingly.[1]

Disaster after disaster thus befell Dutch, Courlanders and English alike in Tobago. Yet so attractive was the island that financiers were still found to adventure their money, and pioneers their lives, in further attempts to occupy it. In 1647 the Earl of Warwick, undismayed by his two previous failures, had "sett forth to Divers Gentlemen of the English nacion his Resolution . . . to plant English Colonies on the Island of Tobago, out of a Godly Zeale for the promoting of the Gospell in that Island." To carry out this intention a company had been formed and an elaborate scheme of land tenure drawn up.[2] It seems probable that with Warwick's energy and resources behind it, the company actually dispatched an expedition thither. But, if so, the settlers must have perished at the hands of the Caribs soon after their arrival, for no record of them has survived.

Equally undismayed were the Courlanders and the Dutch. When the Duke of Courland heard of the destruction of his second settlement he determined to renew the venture, sending thither in 1654 over a hundred families of his subjects. But no sooner had they arrived than a Dutch contingent made its appearance, financed by two merchants of Flushing named Adrian and Cornelius Lampsins who, having obtained a grant of Tobago from the United Provinces, had sent the new arrivals to occupy the island in their name. A short skirmish took place between the rival settlers, and then they agreed to refer

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[1] Major Scott's "Description of Guyana," below, p. 141.

[2] See Scott's "Description of Tobago," below, pp. 117–119

the dispute to their respective states, and in the meantime to settle in different parts of the island.

Hearing of what had happened, the Duke of Courland immediately appealed to Cromwell for confirmation of his title derived from James I; and the Protector, glad to help an enemy of the Dutch, lent him support. At the same time the Dutch Government, being exhausted by a recent war with England, was not in a position to vindicate the Lampsins claims by force. Consequently, the Duke of Courland was undisputed master of Tobago until 1658.

In that year he and his Duchess were unceremoniously seized by Charles Gustavus of Sweden and carried off to Riga. Taking this opportunity, the Dutch planters in Tobago invaded the settlement of the Courlanders, surrounded Fort James which the latter had built, and compelled the Governor, Hubert de Beveren, to surrender. On being released, however, from captivity in 1662 the injured Duke appealed to Charles II, who on November 17th, 1664, regranted Tobago to him and his heirs upon certain conditions.[1]

The subsequent history of the Courland settlement is obscure. Apparently, the Duke became disinclined or unable to continue his support, for little or nothing was done to fulfil the contract with Charles II.[2] The Courlanders

[1] Cf. *Cal. Col.*, 1661–1668, p. 257. (King to Lord Willoughby): "In this conjuncture of a war between England and the United Netherlands his Majesty has granted the island of Tobago to the Duke of Courland, his heirs and successors, for the equal benefit of his Majesty's subjects and his own. His Majesty directs Willoughby and all under his command to perform all friendly offices to the said Duke's subjects and officers." (November 25th, 1664.)

[2] See *Acts of the Privy Council* (Colonial Series), 920. "It is ordered, on consideration of the report of the Committee appointed to consider the memorial of the Duke of Courland's envoy, that Mr. Secretary Trevor . . . speedily returne an Account of the Transactions between his Majestie and the Duke of Courland during the time of his Employment, and more particularly how the Contract came about to be made with the said Duke as to the Island of Tobago." (May 12th, 1671.)

probably lived on in peace beside their Dutch neighbours; but the Lampsins ruled the island until 1677, when the French took it by storm. The inhabitants to the number of twelve hundred were compelled to abandon their homes, and the island lay once more lone and untenanted.

After two ineffectual attempts by the Dukes of Courland in 1678 and in 1693 to obtain English colonists for the resettlement of Tobago,[1] no further action was taken until 1763, when by the Treaty of Paris the island became a British possession. "The English," we are told, "commenced the colonisation of it in 1765, and so vigorously did they pursue their object that, in twelve years, the population was raised to twelve thousand persons." [2]

The early history of Tobago is thus an extremely chequered one. Owing to its proximity to St. Vincent, the stronghold of the fierce and warlike Caribs, colonisation there was a perilous business, which usually ended in sudden death. From the point of view of early British colonisation the story is of secondary importance, for the English pioneers played but a small part in it. At the same time it has a value of its own. For not only are we shown how the early colonists, even when unsuccessful, paved the way for development in succeeding centuries, but also how keen was the rivalry among the nations of Europe as they jostled each other in the race for maritime and colonial power.

Trinidad.

The large and fertile island of Trinidad, separated from the Continent only by the narrow straits of the Boca de la Serpiente and the Bocas del Dragon, is so closely akin in every way to the neighbouring mainland that it is only natural to find the similarity extending to its history.

[1] The dynasty became extinct in 1737, thus terminating the Courland claim.

[2] Bryan Edwards, *op. cit.*, Vol. iv, p. 280.

Unlike the majority of the West Indian islands, Trinidad was continuously occupied by the Spaniards during the greater part of the 16th century. In the same way the island figures largely in Sir Walter Raleigh's famous voyage to Guiana in 1595 in search of the mythical El Dorado. It was thus not so much an island with an independent destiny, but rather a stepping stone to the Continent.

When Raleigh with his fleet arrived there, he learnt from some Arawaca Indians that Sir Robert Dudley had departed from the island only two months before on his way to plunder the Spanish Main and to seek for gold mines.[1] And notwithstanding Dudley's failure to overcome the Spanish garrison (which had been strongly reinforced from Margarita and Cumana), Raleigh attacked and captured the city of St. Joseph's, taking prisoner the Governor Don Antonio de Berreo.

But the former was entirely captivated by the golden fables of Guiana, and lost no time in pushing on to explore that unknown region. It says much for the attractiveness of Raleigh's personality, that when in 1605 the Spaniards endeavoured to re-establish themselves at Trinidad, the natives "did unanimously owne the protection of the English" and held the Spaniards at bay. Indeed, both here and on the Main the name of Raleigh became one to conjure with for the next half century. Apparently the Spaniards succeeded in maintaining a small garrison on the island, but little more ; in fact, when an English vessel arrived there in 1626, the Indians informed their visitors "that they kept the greatest part of that Island for the English, in pursuance of their compact with Sir Walter Raleigh."

In view of the fact that Raleigh's adventures in Guiana aroused such widespread interest and inspired so many

[1] See "*Sir Robert Dudley's Voyage to . . . Guiana*," 1594. Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series, Vol. III, 1899.

of his countrymen to follow in his footsteps thither, it is surprising to find that Trinidad, with its rich soil and marvellous tropical beauty, was so neglected. Many of the subsequent colonising expeditions which met with disaster on the Amazon might well have grown into flourishing settlements at Trinidad.

As we have already seen, this island with Tobago and several others was granted in 1628 by letters patent to the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, who, after making no effort for ten years to develop his possessions, sold them to the Earl of Warwick. Within twelve months the latter had dispatched a considerable force of settlers under Captain Masham to colonise the province of Montgomery, as these islands were called. This party made their first attempt at Tobago, but being driven out by the Caribs of St. Vincent, proceeded to Trinidad, where unfortunately no better fate awaited them. For the Trinidad Caribs fell upon them and mortally wounded Captain Masham. The settlers were only saved from annihilation by the timely protection of the ever faithful Arawacas.

Two further efforts to colonise the island stand to the credit of the Earl of Warwick. In 1640 he "did graunt full power to Divers Gentlemen to plant a Second Collonie," who (it is interesting to note) were to have the right to elect their own President and Council. These colonists under their President, Major Hartley, settled down on the Leeward side of the island in order to avoid a collision with the Spaniards. For five years they flourished considerably, and it seemed that at last Trinidad would become the permanent home of English settlers. But in 1645 they fled before a virulent fever which was decimating a party of their countrymen who had arrived only the year before in a neighbouring part of the island. The latter settlement had been established in 1644 by a company of adventurers who had leased 100,000 acres in Trinidad

from Warwick. The survivors of this plague made their way, some to Barbados, and some back home to England, leaving the island once more in the hands of the natives and a little group of Spaniards.

After this English efforts ceased, and for nearly two centuries Trinidad lay almost wholly neglected and undeveloped by its nominal owners. Previous to the year 1783, we are told, "a single vessel, belonging to a Dutch house in St. Eustatia, and making annually two or three voyages, was sufficient to carry on the whole of the commerce of Trinidad."[1] In that year a certain M. de St. Laurent, an inhabitant of Grenada, visited the island, and was so struck by its potentialities that he hurried to Madrid and induced the Spanish Cabinet to develop its resources and to encourage colonists to go thither. Thanks to this man's energy and to the enlightened rule of the new Governor, Don Joseph Chacon, the colony rapidly grew in numbers and prosperity.

In 1797 Trinidad surrendered to Sir Ralph Abercromby, and was formally ceded by Spain to Great Britain at the Peace of Amiens. To-day the total population numbers 370,000, but of these 120,000 are East Indian labourers, and much the greater part of the remainder are of African descent. Yet the future of the island is highly promising. For in addition to the presence of oil and asphalt in the famous pitch-lake La Brea, there are valuable cacao and sugar plantations which are attracting an increasingly extensive market.

An indication of future development has recently been afforded by the establishment in Trinidad by royal charter of the "Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture." The nature of its purpose has recently been set forth by Sir Arthur Shipley, Chairman of the Governing Body. "The

[1] Bryan Edwards, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 298.

College," he writes, "though situate in the West Indies, is imperial in its inception and in purpose. It hopes to train agriculturists for all those parts of the Empire which lie within the Tropics. It desires to be the forerunner of other institutions in all the warmer dominions of the King that lie beyond the seas. It has a further great ambition and that is to advance knowledge. It fully realises, as in the great times of Queen Elizabeth Francis Bacon realised, that 'there is a new unexplored kingdom of knowledge within the reach and grasp of man, if he will be humble enough, and patient enough, and truthful enough to occupy it.'"

The work of Raleigh and the men who followed him in Trinidad was not in vain.

Guiana.

Turning from the West Indies to Guiana,[1] the course of British colonisation proves to be strikingly different. To occupy an island, hold it against all comers, and win a livelihood from its soil was a sufficiently strenuous task. But to land on the shores of a vast Continent rife with fever and teeming with native tribes, and to endeavour to build there a permanent community, was an enterprise which expedition after expedition found too hard to be accomplished. That Guiana was eventually colonised is a great tribute not only to the English pioneers, but also to the Dutch and French who, despite the long record of failure preceding them, went doggedly on till success was achieved.

The conquests of Cortes and Pizarro had early placed the rich empires of Mexico and Peru within the power of

[1] The term Guiana, in its wider meaning, applies to the vast area in South America, bounded on the east by the ocean, to the north by the Orinoco, and to the south-west by the Amazon and its tributary the Negro. The area, however, with which we are concerned is more limited, consisting in the series of plateaux which lie between the sea and the central range. The mountainous region to the west was unknown to all but a few explorers.

Spain, while Brazil was in the hands of the Portuguese. But the great unknown region between the Amazon and the Orinoco had never been occupied by either of these nations. Spanish travellers had occasionally found their way there, returning with exciting fables gleaned from native tribes of a golden city named Manoa where El Dorado dwelt, the Gilded King.[1]

This story, persistently reiterated by successive explorers, came to the ears of Sir Walter Raleigh, who, having made two unsuccessful attempts to found a colony in Virginia, turned his attention to this land of promise in the south. In 1595, with five ships and a hundred men, he sailed out to the west and sighted land at Trinidad. Here, having overcome the Spanish garrison and won the affectionate loyalty of the Caribs, he proceeded to explore the country of the Orinoco river ; " where understanding that twentie severall voyages had beene made by the Spanyards, in discovering this Coast and River, to find a passage to the great Citie of Mano(a), called by them the El Dorado, or the Golden Citie ; he did his utmost to have found some better satisfaction than relations."[2]

Although that satisfaction was denied him despite a diligent search, Raleigh's enthusiasm was unabated. His book *The Discoverie of Guiana*, written in the same year (1595) aroused keen interest throughout Europe, and not least in England itself.

Meantime Raleigh had left a man named Sparrow to continue the search for the Golden City, of the existence of which he felt so assured. After wanderings innumerable, Sparrow returned to England in 1610, having won no

[1] Ordaz, an officer serving under Pizarro, had been one of the first to bring back this legend.

[2] " A briefe discourse of divers voyages made unto the goodly Countrey of Guiana, and the great River of the Amazons, relating also the present Plantation there." 1629. *Works of Captain John Smith*, Chap. XXIII, ed. Arber. In the same year Antonio de Berreo, the Spanish Governor of Trinidad, entered the Manoa region by way of Nueva Granada and came down the Orinoco to the sea.

better satisfaction than his master. Other voyages, however, such as that of Captain Keymis in 1596, and of Captain Berrie a year later, were making the country itself better known. We are not here concerned with the repeated and heroic efforts of the French to found a colony at Cayenne, nor with the penetration far inland by traders from Holland: but side by side with these are to be seen a long succession of colonising expeditions from England.

The example set by Raleigh was first followed in the year 1604, when Captain Charles Leigh on board the *Olive Plant* with forty-six men and boys "departed from Wolwich with intention to discover and inhabit some part of the Countrie of Guiana, where he had been in a former voyage."[1] After visiting the estuary of the Amazon, he arrived at the mouth of the River Oyapok (Wiapoco) on May 22nd, where the party was kindly received by the natives. Retaining thirty-five of the most suitable men, Capt. Leigh in June sent the rest back to England, "with Letters to the right worshipful Sir Olave Leigh, his brother, of his successe and desire to supply his wants, which he most kindly twice supplied to his great charge within short time after."[2]

Very soon, however, trouble began. The natives, who had at first agreed to provide the expedition with food in return for military aid against their enemies, began to grow fractious and hostile. And the men themselves, suffering in the hot, damp climate from ague and dysentery,

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[1] *Purchas*, Vol. XVI, Chap. XII, "Captaine Charles Leigh his voyage to Guiana and plantation there."

[2] *Ibid.* One of the ships sent by Sir Olive Leigh came to grief, being forced by a storm to Santa Lucia, where the majority of the party were massacred. A few survivors who escaped to the Main were kindly received by the Spaniards, and finally returned to England in February, 1606. (See "A true Relation of the traiterors massacre of the most part of three score and seven Englishmen in Santa Lucia, an iland of the West Indie, the three and twentieth of August (1605), written by Job Nicol." *Ibid.*, Chap. XIII.)

mutinied, being "so much discontented that they cried to their Captaine, 'Home, Home.'"

It was only with great difficulty that Leigh persuaded them "to stay one whole yeere, thorow all extremities, if it were possible, to make a full triall both of people and Countrey; and to plant upon Mount Huntley according to their promise."[1]

For some time after this the colony made headway, thanks chiefly to the vigorous support of Sir Olive Leigh in England, who in the autumn of 1605 sent the *Phœnix* back to the Oyapok laden with provisions and commodities for trade, and in the following January provided the colony with thirty skilled craftsmen. Unfortunately the fever which had already swept off many of the settlers, now attacked Captain Leigh himself. He died on March 20th on board ship, when about to sail for England in order to obtain more provisions.[2] After the ship had departed on April 2nd, the settlers struggled on for a while in expectation of its return. But various accidents preventing the arrival of the promised supplies, they abandoned the enterprise and made their several ways back to England as best they could.[3]

In the year 1609 a more famous character took up the tale of adventure in the person of Sir Thomas Roe, subsequently King James' Ambassador to the Great

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[1] *Purchas*, Vol. XVI, Chap. XII.

[2] In addition to their inability to become self-supporting as regards food, the colony had been discouraged by the trade supremacy of the Dutch. "At my arrivall here," Captain Leigh reported, "I found a Dutch shippe, and sithence here hath arrived another; they buye up all the Flaxe they can get, and pay so deere that I can get none; they have not gotten so little I thinke as ten tunnes of Flaxe within these two moneths." *Ibid.*, Chap. XII.

[3] "The Relation of Master John Wilson of Wanstead in Essex, one of the last ten that returned into England from Wiapoco in Guiana 1606." (*Ibid.*, Chap. XIV.) Fifteen had departed on board a Dutch vessel, and ten more on board a Frenchman. The last ten came home in the *Hope* of Amsterdam on May 31st, 1606.

Mogul.[1] The principal partners and their contributions are said to have been these : the Earl of Southampton, £800 ; Sir Thomas Roe and his friends, £1,100 ; and Sir Walter Raleigh, £600.[2] The expedition was, in fact, one of those supported by Raleigh in furtherance of his scheme for an English Empire in South America.[3]

The fortunes of Sir Thomas Roe in this country are summarised by Howes in his Continuation of Stow's *Annales*. "The fore-named worthy young Knight, and right valiant Gentleman, in the yeare 1609, at his and his friends' charge, builded a ship and a Pinace, for the discovery of Guyana. Hee set sayle from Plimmouth the 24 of February, and in the end of Aprill, fell with the great River of the Amazons . . . and entred with his shippe 200 miles, and then with Boates 200 more, and made divers iourneyes into the maine among the Indians, being well inhabited and full of good commodities, though not so plenteous as it might be by reason the natives provide no more then for their necessity. From thence he came along the coast into divers Rivers, and entred the Country by Indian Boates, and went over the chatoracts and hills, and passed over thirty two falles in the River of Wiapoco. From thence he descended, having with great labour and perill spent 13 months in this discovery, viz., from the river of Amozones to the river of Oronoque. At the end whereof, not finding all the West Indies to be full of Gold, as some suppose, hee returned by Trenydado and the Westerne Islands, and arrived at the Wight in July 1611. And thus much

[1] Accounts of Roe's Embassy are found in nearly all Collections of Voyages from Purchas onwards. The most complete is that edited for the Hakluyt Society by W. Foster, 1899, 2 vols.

[2] See *Tanner MSS.* (Bodleian), 168, f. 2.

[3] Robert Harcourt relates that in 1609 he found the Guiana natives wearing old European clothes, "which they had gotten of certain Englishmen, who (by the direction of Sir Walter Rawley) had traded there the year before." *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana*. London, 1613. Reprinted in the Harleian *Miscellany*.

in honour of his forwardnesse, paines and industry, I thought fit to mention . . . lest vertue should bee forgotten, and others reape the honour of his labours. Since which time hee hath twice sent thither to make further discoveries, and maintained 20 men in the River of Amozones for the good of his Countrey, who are yet remaining there and supplied." [1]

In the meantime, however, Roe's position had been considerably weakened by the death of his patron, the Prince Henry; and after his departure for India in 1614, the little settlement on the Amazon came to be neglected, and gladly threw in its lot with a fresh band of pioneers who now made their appearance.[2]

The new adventurer was one Robert Harcourt, . . . "son and heir of Walter Harcourt, Esq., of the ancient and noble family of the Harcourts," who determined to step in and carry on the work which had been so promisingly begun by Captain Leigh. As a contemporary writer describes it, "the gentility of this person inclining him to see and to search out hidden regions, he procured of King James I a grant of letters patent for the planting and inhabiting of all that tract of land and part of Guiana between the river Amazones and Dessequebe situated in America under the equinnoctial line."[2] The expedition, consisting of about 50 men all told on board the *Rose* and two smaller vessels named the *Patience* and the *Lily*, set sail from Dartmouth on March 23rd, 1609.

Following the path of the Trade Winds, the ships arrived off the mouth of the Amazon and then hugged the coast till they came to the estuary of the Oyapok, which they reached on May 17th. Here Harcourt secured the friendship of the Indian tribes by reminding them of Raleigh's

[1] Stow's *Annales*, continued by E. Howes, p. 1022, 1631 edition, fol

[2] See Harcourt's *Relation, ut supra.*

efforts on their behalf and declaring that they were come to take his place. As in the case of Captain Leigh's settlement, the Indians agreed to supply the English with food provided that they would help them in their wars against the ferocious Caribs. Little could, however, be done for some months, as it was in the middle of the wet season.

Later Harcourt adopted the advice of the natives and moved some of his settlers from the marshy seaboard to the uplands farther inland, where they began to cultivate sugar, cotton wool, and particularly tobacco with great success.[1] Here again the influence of Raleigh is to be seen, for as soon as the dry season began Harcourt proceeded to explore in all directions in search of gold mines. The bitter disappointment which attended this endeavour resulted in a mutiny, which Harcourt only quelled with difficulty.

On August 23rd the leader of the expedition left his brother Captain Michael Harcourt with twenty men to maintain their occupation,[2] while he himself returned to England for supplies and to organise a company. On arrival Robert Harcourt found himself confronted by difficulties, for it was not until 1613 that he was able to obtain the patent that he desired, which granted him in full possession all the land between the Amazon and the Essequibo. Fortunately, he had been able to sustain his brother and the small band of planters in continuous possession during the four intervening years.[3]

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[1] "When we first arrived in those parts, we altogether wanted the true skill and knowledge, how to order it (*i.e.*, tobacco); which, now of late we happily have learned of the Spaniards themselves . . ." Harcourt's *Relation, op. cit.*

[2] Captain John Smith (*op. cit.*) states that "some fiftie or sixtie men" were left behind under Michael Harcourt; but this is probably an exaggeration.

[3] Cf. *Acts of Privy Council* (Colonial Series, 1613–1680), No. 3, July 15th, 1613. "Letter to Mr. Sollicitor Generall. 'Wee send you herewithal twoe Petitions . . . wherein hee (Robt. Harcourt)

Thus assured of his ground, Harcourt published a prospectus, thereby endeavouring to attract both emigrants and capital to his venture. The document is worth a closer examination, as being illustrative of the methods employed in these early pioneering enterprises. After summarising the work of Raleigh and Captain Leigh, the writer appeals for support to continue the work. "By these memorable examples may our nation, being in valour inferior to none other under Heaven, be moved or stirred up to the undertaking of this noble action of Guiana; which, in respect of the climate, fertility of the soil, and tractable disposition of the people . . . doth assure us, that with God's favour and assistance, as great effects may be wrought in the conversion of these nations, and as great benefit and commodity may arise to the realm and crown of England, both in general and particular as ever was performed or obtained by the Spanish nation, since the first beginning of their travels and discoveries . . ." The writer then enters into a detailed account of his experiences when first he occupied the country, and assures the public, quite in the manner of a modern company promoter, that although gold has not yet been found, it certainly there existed. "And to conclude. We may by the gracious assistance of our Good God, gain unto our sovereign the dominion of a rich and mighty empire, which if it may be once possessed by his majesty, and inhabited by his English subjects, will absolutely be invincible; to the unspeakable honour and

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Desireth Letters Pattents from his Majestie of a parte of Gwyana in the West Indies, haweinge heretofore with greate travaile and charge discovered that Country and inhabited there by himself and his friends for the space of these three or foure yeares last past and still houldeth the possession thereof without impeachment or interruption, whereby he hopeth in shorter tyme to plant that Country with his Majesties Subiects to the greate benefitt of this Kingdome by the increase of Trade, and the reduceinge of that People to civility of life and Christianity.'" He is accordingly ordered to draw up the requisite patent ready for the King's signature.

renown of our nation in all after ages."[1] The curious mixture of missionary zeal for "the Good God" and desire for the good gold is typical of the time.

The terms offered to prospective adventurers are particularly interesting. An investment of £12 10*s.* would secure 500 acres of land in Guiana. For the first three years all profits were to go "towards the advancement of the plantation"; for the next four years a fourth would be proportionately divided, the remaining three-quarters being spent on development. In the eighth year the shareholders would receive two-thirds, and after ten years the whole of the profits. For the distribution of dividends a treasurer-general was appointed in London, but, unluckily for the shareholders, his post proved to be a sinecure.

Special efforts were made to attract men of wealth and education to the new colony. "The shares of commanders, officers and men of place and quality, that adventure in person, are not to be rated according to single shares of inferior and common persons, that adventure in person; but according to their place, quality and merit, in such sort as shall be fit to give them content and encouragement to adventure their persons in so honourable and worthy an action."

Despite its glowing phraseology and attractive terms, Harcourt's appeal seems to have fallen flat. People were beginning to find by bitter experience that colonising ventures were usually anything but a paying proposition to the investor. Personal difficulties, too, hindered Harcourt from sending adequate support to those already settled on the Oyapok. "So many troubles," Captain John Smith remarks, "here surprised him, though he did his best to support them, he was not able; only some few hee sent over as passengers with certaine Dutch men,

[1] Harcourt's *Relation, ut supra.*

but to small purpose."[1] Lacking as it did adequate support from England, the colony soon after 1613 ceased to exist. Indeed, indifference at home, together with the scourge of fever in the low-lying coast region, were the two main factors which contributed to the failure of these early enterprises.[2] At this point a third deterrent cropped up in the form of political pressure from Spain, who regarded penetration into Guiana as an invasion of her monopoly. If Elizabeth had been on the throne such pressure would have made little difference to the adventurers. Unfortunately, in more ways than one, the reigning sovereign was James Stuart, who courted the favour of his most Catholic Majesty. A tragic outcome of this subservience to Spain was the judicial murder of Sir Walter Raleigh, after his last and unsuccessful voyage in 1617 to Guiana in search of gold. His execution on an old charge newly vamped up was nothing more than an attempt to curry favour with the Spanish Ambassador, Gondomar.

In company with Raleigh on the fateful voyage there had been one Captain Roger North, grandson of the second Lord North, "who" states Captain Smith, "upon this voyage having stayed and seene divers Rivers upon this Coaste, tooke such a liking to those Countreyes . . . that after his returne for England, he endevoured by his best abilities to interest his Countrey and state in those faire Regions . . . " Captain North's position and personal influence secured the active support of a number of magnates, including the Duke of Lennox, the Earls

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[1] Captain J. Smith's *Briefe Discourse, op. cit.*

[2] It is to be noted that the persistent efforts of the French to colonise Cayenne were at this time meeting with little better fortune, though a successful settlement was eventually established. Cf. "*Lettre Escrite de Cayenne, Contenant Ce qui s'est passé en la descante des François, et leur establissement en l'Amerique,*" Paris, 1653; also "*Journal du Voyage de Guinée, Cayenne, et Illes Antilles de l'Amerique par Jean Barbot,* 1678–1679." *Addit. MSS.* 28788.

of Warwick, Rutland, Dorset and Arundel. Constituting themselves a company, they entered into negotiations with Captain Harcourt with a view to buying out his rights in Guiana. But the latter, notwithstanding his previous ill-success, was determined to work out his cherished scheme of colonising Guiana by himself, and steadily refused their offers. At length on March 7th, 1619, Captain North and his associates petitioned the Privy Council that since Harcourt had done virtually nothing to justify his patent and had declined a compromise, the patent should be called in.[1] After careful perusal by that famous lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, the Harcourt grant was cancelled, and North's Company of Adventurers was formally incorporated with the usual powers and conditions. The extent of the territory so granted was extensive; "the places where they shall have their Plantation or use their Trade, and trafficke shall extend from the River of Wyapoco to fiue Degrees of Southerly Latitude, from any parte or Braunch of the River of Amazons otherwise called Oreliana, and for Longtitude into the Lande to be Lymitted from Sea to Sea, ffor which this shal be your warrant."[2]

The passing of the patent had attracted the attention of that astute Spaniard, the Count of Gondomar, who now (as in the case of Raleigh) exerted his influence over the mind of James I. Waiting till North had got his expedition almost ready to sail, the Spanish Ambassador applied for a stay of the ships, on the ground that "his maister the King of Spayne had as just title to the river of the Amazons and the whole Tract thereabouts as to any other of his Kingdomes."[3] Under this pressure James acted

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[1] *Acts of the Privy Council* (Colonial Series), 1613–1680, No. 34.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 37 (April 18th, 1619). Cf. No. 36. Captain J. Smith (*op. cit.*) erroneously states that North formed his Company "not knowing of the Interest of Captaine Harcote."

[3] *Acts of the Privy Council* (Col. Ser.), No. 47.

with characteristic indecision. North and his fleet were held up, and his petition asking for permission to start was ignored. At the same time, through the Duke of Richmond, he was encouraged to prepare for an early departure. Obviously James wished North to take French leave and thus obtain for England the fabled riches of Guiana without having to defy the awe-inspiring Court of Spain. Taking his cue accordingly, Captain North with three vessels set sail from Plymouth on April 30th, 1620, without the royal permission.

Faced by the flood of Gondomar's indignant protests, James veered round in a panic, and disowned the entire enterprise. 'The Governor and Company of noblemen and Gentlemen of the City of London, Adventurers in and about the River of the Amazons,' were compelled to surrender their charter and dissolve the company. A letter was sent to Buckingham, as Lord High Admiral, that all vessels outward bound were to keep a look out for Captain North and, if possible, to seize him and his ships: if he proved too powerful to be thus handled, he was to be commanded in the King's name, "ymediatly to retorne to Englaunde." As a final injunction it was laid down that "noe Shipp doe assist him or convey unto him either victuall, or anie other prouision, as they will aunsweare the contrary . . . "[1]

On arrival, North and his men had settled a hundred miles up the Oyapok, "where," says Captain Smith, "the sight of the Countrey and people so contented them, that never men thought themselves more happie."[2] It is interesting to note that they came across a party of English and Irish planters living with the Dutch, who proved to be a remnant of Harcourt's original settlement. They had joined the Dutch after the departure of Captain Michael Harcourt and the disbandment of his little colony

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council* (Col. Ser.), No. 56. See also Nos. 54, 55, 58.
[2] Captain J. Smith's *Briefe Discourse, op. cit.*

in 1612. These men Captain North persuaded to come over and throw in their lot with his party.

It was at this juncture that North learnt of King James' proceedings against him and so hurried home, bringing back with him a valuable cargo of 7,000 lbs. of Guiana tobacco. He was immediately arrested, and on January 6th, 1621, sent to the Tower, his cargo being retained in the Customs until it became rotten and almost worthless. Three weeks later he was released; but not for long. On April 12th he was recommitted, and it was only through Buckingham's personal intervention that he finally obtained his liberty on July 18th.[1] In point of fact, King James was giving Captain North exactly the same measure as he had dealt out to Raleigh. Luckily for himself, the former was not of equal importance with the sea-dog who had bearded the Spanish power time and again. For the purpose of this survey the incident is important as illustrating the manifold difficulties which confronted the colonial pioneer even in Whitehall itself.

The result of King James' action against North thus left the young settlement leaderless and, as we have seen, deprived of its financial supporters in England. It is greatly to their credit that the planters, particularly Captain Charles Parker (brother to Lord Morley) and Captain Thomas Painton, refused to give up the enterprise and stubbornly stood their ground "But all authoritie being dissolved, want of Government did more wrong their proceedings then all other crosses whatsoever." Furthermore, no supplies were forthcoming from England. For whereas the first settlers in St. Christophers and Barbados had been able to "make good" by means of a quick succession of supply ships bringing food equipment and recruits, the expeditions to Guiana received but scanty aid from the home country. Settlement in the West Indies

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council* (Col. Ser.), Nos. 61, 62, 64, 67. Cf. also Nos. 68, 69, 72 and 73.

on the one hand was being promoted by powerful merchant princes such as the Courteens; while the colonisation of Guiana—a much more formidable task—was attempted for the most part by men of small capital.

Being in sore straits, the settlers of Captain North's expedition were obliged to turn for aid to their neighbours the Dutch, "who," as Captain Smith remarks, "knowing their estates, gave what they pleased and tooke what they list(ed)." It is not surprising that, under such conditions, the majority decided to abandon the country and seek a home elsewhere. Leaving the Oyapok on January 28th, 1623, they made their way to Virginia whence, after twelve months' delay, they proceeded in March, 1624, to St. Christophers. There they proved a valuable reinforcement to Captain Warner's newly-founded settlement.[1]

Meanwhile various bands of English and Irish had been struggling to gain a foothold in the Amazon basin. But here their chances were considerably less than on the Oyapok or Essequibo. For, in addition to the difficulties normally incidental to colonisation, they were handicapped by the jealous rivalry of the Dutch and the open hostility of the Spaniards. Of the details of these gallant enterprises, quietly undertaken against enormous odds, there is little record. Too often the silence is that of annihilation. Only here and there is a gleam of light thrown on the darkness by the brief reference of some Dutch or Spanish voyager.

Typical of such sources is the Journal of the Walloon pioneer, Jesse de Forrest, who conducted an expedition to the Amazon on behalf of the Amsterdam Chamber of the Dutch West India Company.[2] After sighting the

[1] See above, p. xvi.

[2] "Journal du voyage faict par les peres de familles envoyes par Mrs les Directeurs de la Compagnee des Indes occidentales pour visiter la coste de Gujane." *Sloane MSS.* 179B.

Amazon on October 21st, 1623, the writer tells how Pieter Jansz, the skipper, deliberately ran the *Pigeon* aground at Sapanapoko, in order to trade with the English and Irish planters there.[1] A week later the expedition proceeded to the Okiari river and sailed about fifteen miles upstream. Dotted along the river banks they found a succession of flourishing English plantations, where extensive crops of tobacco were being raised. From these English settlers the Walloon leaders learnt how the Dutch had been driven from their fort at Corupa by the Portuguese, who were acting under orders to destroy every Dutch and English settlement in the Amazon basin. De Forrest accordingly decided to settle down in some less exposed position, and after having made a compact with the English on behalf of the company took his departure. The English planters themselves seem to have recognised the insecurity of their position, for many of them made use of De Forrest's pinnace to convey themselves and their effects down to the coast.

As it turned out their fears were justified. For in 1625 the ruthless Pedro Teixeira once again fell upon the Dutch at Corupa, pursued the fugitives to the Okiari River, and not only put them to the sword but wiped out the English settlement also. Then continuing his march, Teixeira threatened the Irish fort on the Taurege, where Captain James Purcell and seventy men surrendered to him. Fifty-four were massacred out of hand, and the rest were sent prisoners to St. Luis. As a result of this savage attack the river was swept almost clear of both English and Dutch. Captain Purcell, who after many adventures ultimately arrived in England, took part in a further Anglo-Dutch expedition which established

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[1] "Le Lundy nous levasmes derechef l'anchre voyant que Pieter Jansz nous faisoit consommer le temps expres pour donner loisir a sacheloupe de traiter avecq les Anglois et Hirlandois." *Ibid.*

itself near the Taurege River in 1628. And shortly after Captain Roger North reappeared and built a fort lower down the River.[1] But the Portuguese Government was thoroughly resolved not to tolerate such invasion of their preserve, and the energetic action of Teixeira and Pedro Da Costa resulted in the destruction in 1630 of these and of other settlements.

After such a succession of disasters, English adventurers might have been expected to abandon the Amazon and try their luck elsewhere. But there is yet one more effort at colonisation along the Great River to record before we turn to the more successful enterprises farther north. In 1631 the Earl of Berkshire incorporated a new company for the promotion of settlements and trade in Guiana. In the pamphlet or prospectus which was issued in the following year[2] we learn something of the scope of the enterprise.

The writer admits that previous failures due to "want of true knowledge of a plantation that may prove profitable" had disheartened many in England. But Guiana, he declares, holds out more attractions to the settler than any other part of the New World; not only is the climate agreeable and the soil fertile, but the natives are docile and "will worke a month or more for an axe of eighteene or twentie pence price." Already in 1631 a little colony had been established. "For the preservation whereof, wee have not onely sent divers honest and able men (married and other) but also some pieces of great ordnance with ammunition, and other materials

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[1] This venture of North's was probably undertaken under the auspices of a new Guiana Company which he had promoted in 1627. (See below, p. lxxxiii.)

[2] "*A Publication of Guiana's Plantation, newly undertaken by the Right Honourable the Earle of Barkshire (Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter) and Company for that most famous River of the Amazones in America . . .*" London, 1632.

very usefull towards building of a fort."[1] In order further to protect the planters, a pinnace was going to be permanently stationed in the River; and the Earl intends "likewise this summer (if God shall bee pleased) to sett out a new supply of more men (as artificers and others) besides women, as also more ordnance, ammunition and other materials, fitting for the defence of the plantation, besides another shipp, greater then the former, to stay and abide there altogether with the Colony in the River, for their better defence and trade in the country aforesaid; in which supply I also purpose (God willing) to goe with my wife and friends to inhabit some part of that spacious and goodly countrie."

It is noteworthy that the Earl had realised that the chief cause of the previous failures had been lack of food. As in Virginia and elsewhere, the planters had busily raised crops of tobacco, sugar and cotton wool, while depending for their provisions on supply ships from England. When for any reason these had not arrived, the colony had been immediately faced with starvation. "Which wee taking into consideration," adds the Earl, "have given expresse charge, that first of all they take care to plant provisions needfull for sustenation, whereby they may bee able in short time to subsist of themselves without helpe of the natives."

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[1] This statement is corroborated by the following Warrant of the Privy Council: "Whereas our very good Lorde the Earle of Barkshire having bestowed great costes in making a Plantation in the Southerne Continent of America, and shall have necessary use for diverse pieces of Ordinance both for the fournishing of such ships as his Lordship shall have occasion to sende thither. As also for the better strengthening and fortifying of the saide Plantation against the invasion of an Enimy, and doth therefore desire he may buy for his money ffifty pieces of these severall sortes (vizt) foure Culverin, fower demi Culverin, twelve Saker, twelve Minion, tenne ffaulcon, foure Saker-Cutts, and foure minion-Cuts. These are therefore to signify unto such all persons whom it may any concerne, that they are not to interrupt or hinder the saide Erle either from buying, putting on ship-boarde, or from transporting, any such Ordinance . . ." *Acts of Privy Council*, No. 277, July 22nd/31st.

Yet despite so fair a beginning, the rest of the story is buried in an ominous silence. No more is heard either of Berkshire's Company or of the planters. We can only conjecture that the ruthless Teixeira continued his victorious campaign on the Lower Amazon and annihilated this (the last) English settlement on the Great River.

Thus far, then, the English pioneers had made little impression in their efforts to penetrate and occupy the vast rich region explored by Raleigh. Yet driven out as they were from the Amazon, the English still persisted in their efforts to maintain a hold farther north on the Oyapok. It will be remembered that in 1620 Captain North and his associates had, in defiance of Harcourt's prior claims, set out a colonising expedition to Guiana. The settlement then established had fallen into decay and North himself had been obliged to lie very low indeed owing to Gondomar's influence over King James. But North was made of stubborn stuff, and was not prepared to relinquish his schemes tamely. "Ever watching his best opportunitie and advantage of time in the state (he) hath now againe pursued and set on foot his former designe."[1] His first step was to conciliate Captain Harcourt.

Surrendering his former grant, Harcourt now joined with North in obtaining new letters patent (June 2nd, 1627) from Charles I constituting the Governor and Company of Noblemen or Gentlemen of England for the Plantation of Guiana. Of this company North was appointed Deputy Governor, and the King lent his support by granting exemption from imposts, and various privileges in respect of transporting arms.[2] The

[1] Captain John Smith, *Briefe Discourse*, *op. cit.*

[2] Cf. the following warrant: "Whereas we have beene moved by the Gouernor of the Company, tradeing to the River of the Amazons in the West Indies: that for the defence of theere plantation and residence there, they may be permitted to furnish themselves with fower peeces of Iron Ordinance called Drakes, and to buy the same in the markett here, for theire money, and to transporte them for the use aforesaid,"—their Lordships give licence accordingly. *Acts of the Privy Council* (Col. Series), 1623–1688, No. 232, October 31st, 1629.

adventurers, among whom were included many leading merchants and courtiers, set to work with a will; and by January, 1629, four well-furnished ships and nearly two hundred colonists had been despatched from England to the Oyapok.

It is at this point that our meagre sources are enriched by a narrative which does not appear to have been hitherto utilised. That garrulous cleric, the Reverend Richard Thornton, has, despite his all too frequent use of Latin tags and ponderous phrases, left us in his *Happie Shipwrack*[1] an account which throws a flood of light, not only on the doings of the planters themselves, but also on the internal organisation of the company in London. We are given a glimpse of the adventurers at their board meetings, and the picture thus afforded illustrates very clearly the drawbacks inherent in this system of colonisation by means of joint stock companies. Too often the shareholders at home were more concerned with their immediate profits than with the interests of the planters, with the result that colonisation was subordinated to trade and with disastrous effects.

Richard Thornton was an Anglican clergyman who owed much to the patronage of the celebrated William, Earl of Pembroke. Having apparently been evicted from a living through the machinations of some cleric at court, Thornton resolved to throw in his lot with the Guiana Company in the incorporation of which his patron Pembroke had taken a prominent part. "I resolved to goe this voyage," he tells us, "and eyther to sitt at ffortunes Table, or to gather up the Crummes in a forraigne Countrey." To this end he invested £100 in the Company, and repaired on shipboard at Gravesend on November 14th, 1629.

While the ship was delayed owing to sundry disputes, Thornton found time to read the written

[1] See below, pp. 148–174.

instructions from the Company with which he had been entrusted; and the policy therein disclosed by no means pleased him. It was stated that Captain Harcourt, when conducting the Company's expedition to Guiana in the previous year, had disregarded orders by settling his party on the old site by the Oyapok instead of on the Amazon. The settlers (numbering nearly two hundred) had securely established themselves, having built many sugar works and fortifications. And considering the drastic methods that were being employed by the Portuguese on the Amazon, Harcourt's preference for the district which he knew so well would seem to have been justified.[1]

However, the Company was determined to have its own way. And as Thornton read on, he discovered that Harcourt was to be summarily deprived of the Governorship, that the settlers were ordered to remove themselves and their effects from the Oyapok to the Amazon, and finally that the latter were to receive no food or supplies till they had so removed themselves. With this project Thornton violently disagreed. Possibly, he says, the Amazon was the better site; "but that a Colonie (allready setled alone a yeare though contrary to directions) in a place necessary to bee inhabited by the English . . . haveing cleered and planted the ground, made provision for victuals and convenient habitations, (being) acquainted with the Indians, and noe question by their assistance (having) gotten a perfect discoverie of those parts, should nowe bee remooved 200 leagues into the Amazons . . . stands not meethinkes with any conclusion of profitt or safetie." Moreover, the dismissal of Harcourt was neither charitable nor wise. "Wee cannot thinke," he remarks, "that

[1] It is evident that Harcourt and his old rival, Roger North (whose influence in the Company was considerable) were pulling in opposite directions. Harcourt had set his heart on reviving his old settlement on the Oyapok: North, on the other hand, looked to the Amazon, despite the disastrous outcome of his recent enterprise in that area. (See above, p. lxxxi.)

Captaine Harcourt seated in the height of Fortunes long expected with much patience, and greater expense, should discend without a noyse before himselfe bee heard."

For the next two months Thornton spent most of his time on shipboard writing letters of expostulation to the Company, pointing out the weakness of their general policy, and in particular their lack of consideration for himself. And when at last on January 23rd, 1630, the ships were ready to put to sea and no satisfactory answer had been received from the Company, Thornton abandoned the voyage and made his way to London ' to have it out ' with the directors. The motions which he laid before them and which he had incorporated in his narrative are far-sighted and businesslike, and incidentally throw a good deal of light on the constitution of the Company. Most important was his suggestion that all servants in Guiana should be indentured to the Company as a whole, and not to individual planters, thus providing a continual source of profit to the shareholder, " whereby hee shall not bee wearied out with expectation and delaies, as the members of other Companies have been."

Whether the Adventurers adopted the motions or whether Mr. Thornton did eventually transport himself and his verbosity to Guiana is not known. Possibly his patron responded to the hint conveyed in the " little manuscript," and found him employment at home. Unfortunately, the Company itself soon became burdened with debt ; for the meagre crops produced by the planters was a very inadequate return for the considerable capital laid out. It was the old story of a trading company unsuccessfully attempting to make colonisation a profitable investment. It was not yet realised that in enterprises of this nature the reward does not, and indeed cannot, return until after many days. Shortly afterwards this the last English settlement on the Oyapok River was abandoned, and the

planters were scattered, some to the neighbouring Dutch and French and others to the West Indies.

Colonisation along the banks of the Amazon and the Oyapok had thus ended in complete failure. A similar attempt, however, on the Surinam River, which constitutes the third phase of English pioneering in Guiana, met with better fortune. Whereas the Amazon settlements failed chiefly because of Portuguese hostility, and those of the Oyapok through mismanagement at home, the Surinam enterprise succeeded because it was personally directed by a vigorous and experienced pioneer on the spot,—Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham. It was one of the rare cases of a colony being founded in Greek fashion by another colony, instead of by the parent state. Barbados, within a few days sailing distance, became the supply base of the new settlement, and provided just that assistance for the lack of which earlier colonies in Guiana had perished.

Attention had already been drawn to this more Southerly region by the action of Captain Marshall, who, after his failure to colonise Tobago for the Earl of Warwick,[1] had been again employed by that nobleman in 1643, when he founded a flourishing community of three hundred English families in the region of the Surinam and Suramaca rivers. Then suddenly two years afterwards the end came. Through having gone to the assistance of their French neighbours at Cayenne, they attracted the attention of a powerful native force which wiped them out.[2]

Despite this disaster, the royalist exiles in Barbados determined to try their fortune in Raleigh's famous country. The first expedition was being prepared by a prominent royalist leader and sea rover named Antony Rouse just at the same time when Lord Willoughby made his appearance on the troubled scene at Barbados. The latter immediately realised the potentialities of the venture, and

[1] See above, p. lix.

[2] Cf. " Description of Guyana " below, p. 141.

furnished the settlers with a ship and commodities for trade with the natives. He also gave weight and substance to the enterprise by buying and developing private estates of his own in the colony, "upon which," John Scott declares, "he Disburst at least £26,000 Pownd."[1] In 1652, when Willoughby had surrendered Barbados to Sir George Ayscue and the Parliament Commissioners, his claims in Guiana were expressly recognised in the treaty ;[2] and some years later he successfully pleaded his right to the whole of that country before the Protector.[3] But for the next eight years until the Restoration his authority there existed in name only. He himself was taking an active part in every royalist plot that was set afoot ; in fact, so much so that Cromwell for a time had him imprisoned in the Tower.[4]

The subsequent history of the English in Guiana under the Willoughby régime is told graphically and in detail by the documents printed in this present collection and requires little linking together. During the Commonwealth period the settlement at Surinam suffered, though to a less extent than did Barbados, from dissensions between royalist and roundhead functions. Fortunately we have

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[1] Cf. "Description of Guyana," below, p. 141. A criticism of Lord Willoughby's policy by a later Governor of Barbados named Sir Jonathan Atkins is worth noting. He declares that Willoughby's far-reaching schemes of colonial expansion were too ambitious. The English colonies in the West Indies were not populous enough to be able to afford sufficient numbers of men for the new settlements ; while Willoughby, so he states, had been obliged to spend £50,000, thus ruining himself. In short, his schemes were "too much for any man's undertaking though hee had beene a Prince considerable." (C.O. 1/37, No. 22, July, 1676, P.R.O.). The fact remains, however, that the broad foundations which Lord Willoughby laid enabled those who followed him to build thereon a considerable superstructure, though he, like many a greater man, did not live to reap any personal reward.

[2] *Additional MSS.* (Brit. Mus.), 11411, f. 95.

[3] See pp. 177–183 below

[4] See various reports of the Commonwealth Secret Service Agents : *Thurloe State Papers*, Vol. III, pp. 72–75, 82–83, 126–130, 216, 302, 336, 345, 377, 384 ; Vol. IV. p. 544. He also did much work in preparing the ground for the Restoration. See *Clarendon MSS.* (Bodleian), 71, f. 437 ; also *H.M.C.* X., *Lord Braye's MSS.* 4, pp. 206, 208, 210 and 211.

before us both sides of the story, and by taking the two accounts together it is possible to arrive at a fair estimate of the truth

In contrast to its vigorous action at Barbados and elsewhere, the English Parliament made no attempt to vindicate its authority in Guiana. Being thus left to themselves, the colonists set up a form of representative government. The governorship, which was made elective and to be held for twelve months at a time, was entrusted for three years in succession to Lord Willoughby's old lieutenant, William Byam. This fact would alone seem to show that Byam retained the confidence of the settlers as a whole. At the same time, his previous career in Barbados shows that he was a violent royalist, and one quite capable of taking a high-handed line of action in the name of his sovereign. The upshot was that one Robert Sandford, and some other more extreme Independents, organised a revolt against Byam's authority. And he with more energy than tact seized the rebels with an armed force, haled them before a summary court martial, and had them ejected from the colony.[1] These partisans, having returned to England, fought strenuously after the Restoration against the granting of a new Royal charter to Lord Willoughby as proprietor in Guiana.[2] They also endeavoured to have their case re-heard before the Privy Council, but without success.

The letters written to Sir Robert Harley by the various overseers of his plantations at Surinam, and here extracted from the *Welbeck Abbey MSS.*, give a valuable insight into the conditions which obtained in the colony during the years 1663 and 1664. These letters, obviously written by men more at home with hoe and spade than with a pen,

[1] See the respective accounts of Sandford and Byam below, pp. 184–188.

[2] See *Cal. Col.*, 1661–1668, pp. 131–132. At Willoughby's request the proprietorship was vested jointly in his own name and that of Laurence Hyde, son of his great friend the Earl of Clarendon.

show us a settlement beset by many difficulties, yet slowly finding its feet and gaining prosperity. Various plantations are spoken of as ruined and deserted; but there are others that are obviously flourishing, some as cattle ranches and others producing heavy crops of sugars.[1]

The chief difficulty still outstanding was the existence of bitter internal dissension. As in all proprietary colonies, there was a strong faction which resented the despotic nature of the rule under which they lived, and who by continuous obstruction endeavoured to force the home authorities to abolish the proprietorship, and grant them representative government. Robert Sandford and his confrères had been of this type, and their eviction had not completely stamped out the opposition to Byam and the proprietor whom he represented.

This Lord Willoughby himself discovered in 1665. Having been reinstated at Barbados after long litigation against other claimants he, in that year, revisited Surinam. Whilst vindicating his authority there among the planters, he was wounded in the hand and very nearly lost his life at the hands of a would-be assassin named Allen. A further serious source of weakness at this time was an epidemic of fever, which "began at the Toune called Tararica, and spread it selfe all over the Collonie."

Unfortunately for the planters, the disease was still rampant among them when they were suddenly called upon to defend themselves against the Dutch, who had declared war against England. The events which followed are described vigorously and in detail by the three chief participators, namely, Major John Scott, William Byam and Sir John Harman.

At first the English gained the upper hand. Byam himself lost no time in protecting the entrance of the

[1] Printed below, pp 189–195.

River Surinam by building a fort at the village of Paramaribo. The Lord Willoughby, with his customary energy, seized the opportunity of driving out the rival Dutch settlers and making himself sole master of Guiana. Under the experienced leadership of Major John Scott an expedition from Barbados attacked and destroyed the Dutch settlements on the rivers Pomeroon and Essequibo. In retaliation the United Provinces, which had always attached great importance to the Guiana trade, despatched a fleet of seven men-of-war under Admiral Abraham Crynnsen in order to regain the lost foothold.

Despite careful preparation, Byam found that owing to the prevalence of fever he was unable to make a long defence against this force. "And now in August," we are told, "Gods Justice most sharply visited our transgressions, the sickness spreading throughout the whole Colony, with that violence and continuance, that it cutt off above 200 of our men and very many Women and Children; and so universall and raiging was the Contagion at one time, that we could not make a 100 sound men in ye whole country to oppose an Enemy; and not a Family that I know escaped it." Thus weakened and despairing of aid from Barbados now that Lord Willoughby was drowned and the enemy victorious at the Leeward Islands, Byam and his men decided to withstand the Dutch attack no longer. After negotiations Surinam was handed over, on terms very favourable to the English inhabitants, to the possession of Holland.

When the news reached Lord William Willoughby (who had succeeded his brother at Barbados) he was characteristically wrathful and vented his anger on the unlucky Byam, whom he quite unfairly accused of cowardice.[1] In

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[1] *Clarendon MSS.* (Bodleian) 84, ff. 177–8. (Willoughby to Clarendon—May 25th, 1667) Cf. *H.M.C.* XIV, pt. 2, *Portland MSS.* III, pp. 308–310.

the subsequent court martial, however, the latter was vindicated, it being amply proved that in the circumstances no one could have done more.

Vigorous counter-measures were at once undertaken, the first efforts being directed to regaining St. Christophers from the French. At dawn on June 2nd, 1667, a force of 3,200 men under Henry Willoughby attempted to land and storm the island, but after heavy loss the attack failed and the attempt was abandoned. The cause, whether simple mismanagement or downright treachery, has never been discovered.[1]

A few days later substantial reinforcements of men and ships arrived at Barbados from England under the command of Sir John Harman. They were at once sent on to Nevis, where a junction was affected with Henry Willoughby and the remnants of the first expedition. After devoting some six weeks to reorganisation, the leaders decided to abandon any further attempt upon St. Christophers and to try and turn the tide of disaster further south. Proceeding from Barbados, Sir John Harman first executed a well-planned attack on the French settlement at Cayenne, and then after a heavy engagement forced the Dutch garrison to capitulate at Paramaribo.

When, however, the expedition in November sailed back to Barbados in triumph, they were met by bitter news. According to the treaty of Breda, which had been just signed, all dependencies captured by either side after May 10th (as Guiana had been) were to be restored. Indeed, so disappointed was Lord Willoughby, who had of course inherited a personal interest in the Surinam

[1] Cf. the following sources :—
(i) Henry Willoughby to his father (June 15th), C.O. 1/21, No. 56, P.R.O.
(ii) Major Scott's *Relation* (July 19th, 1667), C.O. 1/21, No. 75, P.R.O.
For a clear modern account see Higham's *Development of the Leeward Islands*, pp. 52–54. Camb. Univ. Press.

colony, that he stooped to a distinctly dishonourable course of action. His son Henry was ordered to return thither forthwith and to do his utmost to persuade the English planters to remove themselves and their effects to Antigua. Sugar works and other fixtures were destroyed wholesale. By so doing Willoughby calculated that the Dutch, who were always traders far more than colonisers, would find themselves unable to maintain the settlement.

The plot failed, however. On receiving the complaint from the United Province, the English Government severely censured Willoughby's conduct, ordering him to pay full compensation for damage done and all goods taken away, and to bear the cost of transporting back to the colony any of the settlers who might wish to return.[1]

Thus the effect of the treaty of Breda was, as Dr. Edmundson remarks, "to place the whole of the coast of Guiana—from the River Marowyne, the boundary of French Cayenne, to the Orinoco, stretching some 600 miles—under Dutch control."[2] At the same time the English flag disappeared for more than a century from a region which, from Raleigh onwards, had witnessed a succession of very gallant English enterprises.

The end of what may be called the Willoughby régime in Guiana brings to a natural close the particular phase of overseas expansion with which this volume is concerned. As to subsequent developments, it is sufficient here to note that although the Surinam region has since remained in the hands of Holland, yet during the 18th century British capital and British settlers formed the backbone of the Dutch settlements on the rivers Essequibo, Demerara and Berbice which eventually constituted British Guiana.

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[1] Cf. the following letters:—*Cal. Col.*, 1661–1668, Nos. 1710, 1746, 1759, 1785.

[2] See Dr. Edmundson, "The Relations of Great Britain with Guiana." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. Fourth Series, Vol. VI.

The Napoleonic wars brought a bewildering change of ownership until August 13th, 1814, when by a Convention with the Netherlands the settlements in question finally became British possessions. In the 19th century the Venezuelan and Brazilian boundary disputes brought Guiana into international politics, and very nearly precipitated a world war. Fortunately both disputes were peaceably settled by arbitration and in a manner which secured to the British Empire a fair proportion of the territory for which these early pioneers gave so much toil and loss of life and fortune.

To-day British Guiana is beginning to justify those high hopes with which Raleigh inspired his contemporaries. El Dorado has not been found, it is true ; but the yield of the diamond fields of which the most productive is that of the Mazaruni district, is now worth £1,000,000 a year, while the gold ore mined between 1886 and 1921 was valued at over £9,500,000. At the same time the rich low-lying coastal region is capable of enormous agricultural development. The great need is coloured labour for which the chief source of supply is India. Yet although the Indian enjoys equal rights and privileges with all other British subjects, the present unrest in that country is holding up emigration to Guiana, and the latter country is being handicapped in consequence. Such difficulties, however, are temporary. The future of British Guiana seems assured.[1]

Such, then, in brief, is the character of early British colonisation in the West Indies and the Main. In almost continuous procession these little expeditions of one or two vessels left the Mother Country and fared into the unknown. As we have seen, the majority of them failed ; some being ruined through disease, others wiped out by

[1] Cf. Article by Sir Arthur Shipley, Chairman of the Governing Body Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, Trinidad, in *The Times* (Monday, March 3rd, 1924).

savage tribes, and others driven away by European rivals. Yet like the successive waves of an attack, the adventurers gradually won their way from St. Christophers in the north to Guiana in the south, founding new homes for themselves and new nations for the future. The achievement was great. But the real importance of these men in history is deeper and more fundamental. It consists in this, that they paved the way for the future expansion of the Anglo-Saxon race. Gradually the stream of migration was diverted from the tropical zone, where white labour could not thrive, to the North American seaboard, where a new nation was slowly fashioned and welded together. But this vanguard of pioneers in the south, inheriting the dauntless spirit of the Elizabethans, forged that spirit by dint of hard experience into a tempered quality, which did not fail succeeding generations whenever new homes and communities were to be created throughout the world.

LE GRAND OCEAN ou MER DE NORT

CARTE DE L'ISLE DE SAINCT CHRISTOPHLE.
Scituée a 17 Degrez 30 Minutes de Lat. Septentrionale.

Roches cachées dans l'eau

le Mouton

QVARTIER DES ANGLOIS
qui sont au nombre de dix mille

le Morne Fort Louys

Ance du Caret

Cayonne

Salines

Cap Enragé

Ance des Cuianes

FRANCOIS qui sont au nombre de six mille

Ance des Papillons

les PP. Capuchins

les P.P. Capuchins

Fort de la basse Terre

Ance du Mangot

Pointe de Sable

Fort

Fort

QVARTIER FRANCOIS

Mme de Sculphre

Mme d'Argent

DES ANGLOIS.

Fort Charles

Pointe des Palmistes

Nord Est

Est

Nord Ouest

Sud Est

Ouest

Sud

Sud Ouest

Eschelle de deux Lieües.

A Paris chez Pierre Mariette, rue S. Iacques a l'Esperance. Auec privilege du Roy.

Peyrounin sculp

French Map of St. Christopher, published in Paris circa 1667.

(*British Museum, Maps 82170(1).*)

Donald Macbeth, photo-imp.

§ I. ST. CHRISTOPHERS, NEVIS AND BARBADOS.

(i) RELATION OF THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF ST. CHRISTOPHERS AND NEVIS, BY JOHN HILTON, STOREKEEPER AND CHIEF GUNNER OF NEVIS.

Ap. 29th, 1675.[1]

How came St. Christophers first to be settled.

By a gentl[n] of London one Capt. Thomas Warner who was a good Souldier & a man of extraordinary agillety of bodie of a good witt & one who was truly honnest & freindly to all men, who having made a trading voyage for ye Ammasones,[2] att his returne came by ye Careeby Islands, where he became acquainted with severall Indian Kings Inhabiting these Islands, amongst ye rest with one. King Tegreman King of St. Christophers. He well veiwing the Island thought it would be a very convenient place for ye planting of tobaccoes, which ever was a rich commodetie. Being arrived att London, (he) made some of his freinds acquainted hearwith, who in hopes of great benefitt became part[es] with him & did disburse theire monies towards ye Setting forth a Shipp & men for ye designe of tobaccoes, which was in ye yeare of our Lord *1623*. And being arrived att St. Christophers with divers gentl[n] and others he brought with him with licence of King Tegreeman, they did settle

[1] *Egerton MSS.* 2395, folios 503–509B. (British Museum.) In this and all subsequent MSS. the punctuation has been modernised.

[2] Warner took part in Capt. Roger North's expedition to the Amazon in 1620. While thus engaged, he learnt from his friend, Capt. Painton (himself one of the last to give up hope of settling a colony on the Amazon) of the attractions of St. Christophers. Accordingly, Warner and a large party of settlers transferred their activities thither.

themselves betwixt ye two rivers neare to ye Kings house, where he did live & began to build theire houses, & alsoe a fort of pallesadoes with flanckers, & loopeholes for theire defence. The King viewing theire workes, did aske what theire loopeholes and flanckers were for. And they told him it was made that they might looke after those fowles they had about theire houses; but how ye King understood it I knowe not, but within some time after ye King was minded to cutt them off.

How came Capt. Warner to knowe theire designe.

By an old Indian woman that did often frequent amongst ye English, who it seemes they had used courteously, soe that She had taken a great affecion to them.

How did she make it knowne.

She came to Capt. Warner, & told him ye King & ye rest had made theire drinking as it is theire custome to make a drinking 3 or 4 dayes, and to be druncke before they goe vpon theire designes, And that ye King did intend to kill them all, And that he should gett into his Cannoes and begonn.

What did Capt. Warner when he understood this from ye woman.

Like a wise man and a good Souldier he tooke ye advantage of theire being druncke and fell upon them by night & did kill & slay a great many of them. Amongst ye rest they slew King Tegreeman in his hammacco & runing him with theire rapiers thorough ye hammacco & into the body; and others gott into theire cannoes, & soe gott into other Islands amongst theire neighbouring Indians & freinds.

But I have heard it related how theire was a little english boy in ye hamaccoe with ye King when he was Slaine. How came he not to be slaine.

This little boy was one whome Capt. Warner had brought over with him, & ye King had taken a great affeccion to him and would have him to lie in ye hamaccoe with

him & was saved by ye mercie of God, for they had forgott ye boy.

There was a frenchman that did live amongst ye Indians when Capt. Warner did Settle. How came he theire.

In former times both dutch & french used to rove amonge ye Spaniards in men of warr & a french Shipp by Storme being cast away, this man being then a boy or young man by providence gott ashoare, & did live amongst ye Indians, went naked, & did goe to warr with them. But when Capt. Warner did beat ye Indians off, he came and lived amongst ye English & did live a long time amongst them, but a quarrell falling out betwixt him and an English man, he Slew ye english man and soe fled to ye french, where he is still living, his name being Peter Cuttey.[1] *f. 503b.*

The english having made themselves masters of ye Island, how came ye french to have halfe ye Island.

A french Shipp touching theire, And Capt. Warner knowing that those which did escape would looke revenge, for his owne Safegard, being but weake in men, gave way to ye french to Settle & to have halfe ye Island if they would Settle. ye Commander of the french was Mon^{sr} de Numbec.[2]

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[1] This story of three shipwrecked Frenchmen being found on St. Christophers is corroborated by the depositions of Ackland and Denny and other of the original settlers. (See p. 25 below.)

[2] *i.e.*, D'Esnambuc. The Frenchmen arrived (1625) after Warner had returned for aid to England. "In his (*i.e.*, Warner's) absence came in a French pinnace, under the command of Monsieur de Nombre." *Capt. John Smith's Works*, Chap. xxv, ed. Arber. It is often maintained (see, for example, Oliver's *History of Antigua*, p. 8, part VII, vol. I) that D'Esnambuc landed on the same day that Warner returned to St. Christophers. This, however, seems to be erroneous. For Smith's statement that Warner left St. Christophers in September, 1625, and returned thither in August, 1626, is corroborated by Ralph Merifield's own statement to the Privy Council on May 3rd, 1626, that he had just sent Warner back with a fresh expedition to the island shortly before that date (*Acts of the Privy Council*, No. 164). The formal division of St. Christophers by Warner and D'Esnambuc did not take place until 1627. (For a manuscript copy of the treaty, see *Egerton MSS.*, Brit. Mus. 2395. The treaty is printed verbatim by Oliver, *History of Antigua*).

Did ye Indians attempt it.[1]

Yea & did come with a great power of men, & fell vpon ye french where they were Settled att Basketerre & Slue divers of ye french. And ye rest of ye french gott to ye fort they had made. And amongst ye rest they Slew one fryer, cutt of his members, & thrust them into his mouth & pitched him into a well they had made & besett ye fort.

How gott they of that was in ye fort.

There was by accedent an english lad, which came vpon Some busines to ye french being in ye fort tould them that if they would lett him have two pistolls, & lett him out of ye fort he would goe and inform ye english, which they did lett him have, and he presenting his pistolls made the Indians give way, ye woods being neere gott into them & soe to ye english & tould them what passed. And ye english sent aide to ye french by land, & alsoe Sent a Shipp which lay then in ye roades & soe beate ye Indians of ye Island ye Second time.

In what manner did they devide ye land.

Both being increased in men (they) did cutt a path round ye Island that then was thought habitable land & found it to be 32 miles. Soe ye english had 8 miles to leward & ye french had 8 miles to leward, & alsoe ye english had 8 miles to windward & ye french had 8 miles to windward. As for ye Savanna, ye Salt ponds & ye grounds therto adjoyning was thought to be desert lands, And therefore was for to bee as a common betwixt ye two nations, as alsoe Brimstone hill.

How was Nevis first Settled.

There was a certaine young man named Anthony Hilton borne & brought up in the Bishoppricke of Durham, who being imployed by ye merchants of Barstable in ye west countrey for a voyage to Virginia, passing by St. Christophers, as they knew no other way, came a Shoare, and

[1] *i.e.*, an attack upon the island.

waited on ye Governor Capt. Tho. Warner, and other gentl[n]. And Soe proceeding on his voyage for Virginia, (he) made his voyage, and Soe returning for England, put a Shoare in Ireland. And (he) had some discourse with one Capt. Wallett & other gentl[n] of Ireland, who finding by ye discourse of ye said Hilton, that it might prove proffitable for them to Settle a plantacion att St. Christophers to make tobaccoes, which ye said Hilton thought to be a better place then Virginia, were desirous ye said Hilton would undertake ye voyage for them, which as it Seemes he consented too. And he returning for Barstable, gave up his Accompts of ye voyage & discharged himselfe of his imploye. And soe returning for Ireland againe, he was accordingly Sett forth by those gentl[n] with Shipp and men & all thinges necessary for ye voyage. Soe by Gods goodnes [he] arrived att St. Christophers, And with licence from Capt. Warner hee did Settle vpon ye windward side of ye Island, being ye first that did settle that side of ye Island. *f. 504.*

What did happen to him by Settling there.

He and others having cleared ground, built houses, & followed planting, it came to pass that ye Indians betimes in ye morning came upon them & did fire theire houses and Slue divers of his men. He with some others of his household, makeing theire escape into the woods, gott to ye leward to ye rest of ye English, where he did Settle another plantacion & with ye companie he had, made what tobaccoes he could. And with that tobaccoe (he) made his returne for Ireland, & from thence to England, being accompanied with Some gentl[n] planters of St. Christophers to theire desired port London. And having sold theire tobaccoes for 20[s] per lb. they resolved to Settle Nevis Island by meanes of one Mr. Tho. Littleton, merchant, who sett them forth with all things necessary ; having a commission from ye Earle of Carlile to Settle Barbados or any other not habited Island. And in

theire voyage from ye Downes [they] landed att ye Barbados which they did not like, nor of Antegoa nor Mount Serratt. They came downe to Nevis ye 22th of July 1628, which Island they thought fittest for theire Settlement being next Christophers, from whence they might be better supplied.

What did fall out in ye interim att St. Christophers & Nevis.

Great alteracons. Att Governor Warners going for england he did leave his Sonn Capt. Edwd Warner his Deputy, & because he was young in yeares, & as yett not ensighted in government, to assist him he left one Mr. Asten, who had bin an Inns Court gentleman too much knowing in ye lawes for ye poore planters.[1]

Why what did he.

The Governor of Nevis going downe for St. Christophers to see his plantacion & freinds, there had some words passed betwixt Mr. Asten as it seemes which were not Cordiall. Mr. Asten had enticed by faire promisses one of governor Hiltons Servants who belonged to his plantacion att St. Christophers, to kill him as he lay to Sleepe, which if he did, was to have his plantacion & what he had at St. Christophers.

Did he seeke to attempt it.

Yea & came by night as he was a Sleepe with a keene knife in his hand to performe this bloudy murder, who standing over him, & heaving up his hand to give ye fattall blowe God prevented him, Soe that he had noe power to Strike. Being perplext hereatt he went out ruminating with Selfe what might be ye cause, and made a

[1] Possibly this Ashton is the same man who later became Governor of Antigua, and who in 1650 made such strenuous efforts to uphold the royalist cause in the Leeward Islands. "Ashton, whoe is Governor of Antigua, hath proclaymed Charles there, King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and courted very strongly Nevis and St. Christophers to doe the like . . ." *Hist. MSS. Comm., Rye and Hereford MSS.*, 4, p. 387. Cf. *Tanner MSS.* (Bodleian) 54, f. 240.

Second and third assault but could not, vpon which being amazed, he rann from his Master to Mr. Asten for proteccion.

How came Governor Hilton to knowe this.

It is an old saying that murder cannot be longe hid but will out, for by some good freind governor Hilton had notice of it.

What did governor then.

Hee made it knowne to his freinds he had vpon ye Islands, with those that came with him, who abhorring such accions came to assist him, in so much he had gott a considerable partie not much inferiour to theires.

What did they then.

Both Sides stood upon theire gards & tooke prissioners.

Had young Warner any hand in this murder.

Noe, I dare be bold to Say he had not, for he was not of that disposicion. For he was alwayes of a loving, affable, tender disposicion, & I have heard him Say he did not knowe of it. *f. 504b.*

What did Governor Hilton after this.

He sought his owne Security. And to abate ye pride of others, they haveing councelled togeather and knowing there was a great tobaccoe house that stood to windward of Capt. Warners dwelling house, Soe neare that by firing ye tobaccoe house it must needs fire ye dwelling house, therefore they resolved, & appointed ye night to gett over ye gutt neare unto ye house & soe with fire arrowes from ye Side of ye wood to fire ye tobaccoe house, & Soe to fall in vpon them, & try their fortunes. This was prevented by Gods providence, for that night appointed to doe theire exploite ye very day before there came in a great English Shipp to anchor in ye roade. And ye governor of Nevis Seeing it, gott into his boate to rowe aboard. But Mr. Asten perceiving it, commanded ye gunner to Sinke ye boate if possibly, vpon which ye gunner made a Shott which fell soe neare where ye governor of Nevis Satt, that it dash

ye water vpon them into ye boate, and soe did glance over theire heads, & did noe more hurt. And Soe they gott aboard, (and) made theire case knowne unto ye Capt., who by his meanes did quallefie theire furies for that time, And governor Hilton made his returne for Nevis.

What was ye cause Mr. Asten did seeke after his ruine.

It was supposed, that thinking that if governor Hilton were Sent into another worlde then hee made noe question but to bringe both Islands to bend to his bowe.

Now ye two Islands being in a peacable Condicion, And governor Tho. Warner in England honoured with ye title of Knighthood, what did followe.

It might be supposed, Sr Tho. Warner having informed my Lord of Carlile of the tumult was likely to arise heare, my Lords did send out a Shipp, Capt. Halle,[1] Commander with foure Commers to Settle heare, & to displace governor Anthony Hilton and to put into his place Geo. Hayes my Lords Kinsman, as ye may better understand by what followes.

Did ye Shipp called ye Carlile proceed on her voyage.

Yee, and did touch att Barbados where ye gentln Commers went ashoare, where they were curteously entertained. and in requitall of theire curtesie ye commissrs invited ye Governor and Some others to goe aboard & eate a dish of Krettchett brewe, thus they called it, but indeed it feel out to be treacherous brewes. They not thinking of any harme did goe, who were no sooner aboard, but they tooke them prissioners.

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[1] *i.e.*, Capt. Henry Hawley. Hawley having temporarily overpowered the Courteen settlers in Barbados, and enforced submission to the Earl of Carlisle by seizing Henry Powell and other of their leaders (cf. Depositions, pp. 41–42 below), was now attempting to apply the same methods in the Leeward Islands. Nemesis, however, soon overtook him; for we are told that "Hawley in his Voyage home from the Leeward Islands was taken by the Spaniards, and detained near two years, a Prisoner in Spain." (*Some Memoirs of the First Settlement of the Island of Barbadoes . . . Extracted from Antient Records, Papers and Accounts . . .*, p. 12, Barbados, 1741.)

What happened after they tooke ye governor of Barbados prissioner.

They were plotting how to betray the Governor of Nevis which they thought would prove difficult.

How did they contrive theire plott.

They thought it theire best way to Send downe a boate before them with Letters of Complements to put them into Security for their easier proceeding, which they did, but by that meanes their plott was discovered.

How.

There was a gentl[n] that came over with vs at ye first Settling named Jacob Lake who had a brother a minister who came passenger in that Shipp, and vnderstanding of theire plott, as of Sending ye boate before them, wrights to his brother Jac. Lake of theire plott, & how they had betrayed ye governor of Barbados, & privately delivers it to a Seaman, one that was to come in ye boate. The boate arriving att Nevis, the letters delivered, Mr. Jacob Lake shows it to ye governor.

What did ye governor then. *f. 505.*

Called his councill & all ye Inhabitants togeather & consulted what was best to doe. And it (was) agreed vpon that he should provide himselfe of things necessarie, & soe to goe for England to renue his Commission for they found some defects therein, & to put in his Deputy, one that was resoluted, & they would all stand to him & not accept of any alteracion of government till they heard from their governor from England. This concluded vpon, a Small vessell a west countreyman lying in ye roade, ye governor did Shipp himselfe & having taken leave Sett Sayle. Att ye turning about pellican point, they mett my Lords Shipp & ye Commiss[rs] who haled them, & they made answeare they were a west countrey man lay heare to take in tobaccoes, & ye tobaccoes was not yet ready, Soe they were going to ye windward Islands to turne turtle. Soe they lett them pass & came to anchor in ye

roade. Soe we beate our dromms, gott our people togeather, & att their comeing ashoare we did honourable entertaine them with a stronge gard, & brought them into ye fort to our governors house, where we did feast them with wine & good victualls. They inquired for our governor, Capt. Hilton & we told them he was on his voyage for England in ye Shipp they mett at pellican point; upon which they looked one vpon ye other, but said nothing, wee passing our times with discourse till it was towards night. Then wee told them wee had understood for what they came for, And as for Geo. Hayes wee should desire him to goe aboard; for ye rest if they would stay ashoare they should be welcome. (As) for Geo. Hayes he should come noe more ashoare here but vpon perill, neither would we heare any thinge that might tend to ye alteracion of government, till wee heard from our governor. Soe wee garded them aboard againe that night.

Now all being in peace & quietnes vnder our Deputy governor, Capt. William Vallett, going aboard with Capt. Halle to be merry, in comes ye Spanish Armado about pellican point, which fort fired att them, And tooke what Shipps could not runn for it. But some escaped thorowe ye narrowes. My Lords Shipp cutt his cables, & rann downe to St. Christophers & theire rann there Shipp aground, Capt. Halle getting a shoare with our Deputy governor.

What did you then vpon the Island in this case.

Wee had but one great gune, which we had placed vpon pellican point, & wee Shott soe long as wee had either bullett or powder, & brought one of theire Shipps vpon the carreene to Stopp hir leakes, we had Soe battered hir.

This was not all.

Noe, our Servants proved treacherous, runn away from vs & Swimed aboard & told them where we hid our provissions, & in what case our Islands stood in.

Capt. Jacob Lake gott a companie of men togeather intending to goe to ye old windward to fortefie himselfe, & carry provissions along with him. But it was in vaine ; his Souldiers rann away from him, & did throwe away theire provissions. Ye most of them being Servants cryed out, "Liberty, joyfull Liberty." John Hilton, Antho. Hiltons brother considering wee were cutt of from our provissions, our Servants revolting, gott a boate, & tooke alonge with him a younge man who had his Spanish language perfect, & soe with a flagg of truce did goe aboard to Speake with ye Generall Don Frederigoe De Tolledo to Demand what was his intents for this place ; *f. 505b.* who coming to speake with him, found him a most noble & courteous gentleman. Discoursing with him concerning ye affaires of ye Islands, (he) told vs he did not delight in bloudsheed, soe wee would yeilde his masters interest to him, which wee had vsurped, & noe man should wronge vs or take ye life of any. And if wee wanted Shipping to transport our men he would furnish us, giving hostages for ye returne of ye said Shipping. Soe he ye said Hilton requested ye said Generall to goe ashoare to informe ye Islanders of his most noble proffers, & ye next day he would come aboard & informe his Excellencie what ye Islanders would conclude on, & Soe tooke leave of his Excellencie for that time, returning to ye shoare to see what ye Islanders would conclude on.

What did he when he came aShoare.

Geather togeather all ye gentlemen & others he could gett togeather & did declare vnto them what the Spanish Generall had told him, desiring them to consult vpon it, that he might returne & give ye Generall an answeare. Upon which they all consulted to deliver vp ye Island vpon those Condicions propounded by his Excellencie. Soe he returned with that answeare, the Generall Seeming very joyfull there att, Saying he was very glad he had brought it to passe without bloudshead. "For," said he, "you

are not able to withstand my forces, & for that purpose I am come to cleer ye Islands, & now in respect you have yeilded to my proposicions, who Soever doth either man or woman wronge Shall die for it"; giving orders to his Comanders to that effect, and vsing John Hilton with great respect, promissing him Shipping should be appointed for ye Kings Subjects transporte who was willing to goe; & who would serve ye King of Spaine willingly Should be entertained into his Service, & that Hilton should See ye Shipping furnished with what was necessary for ye voyage. And if any turbulent person should offer to withstand Hilton & bee refractorie, vpon complainte to his Excellencie he would doe Justice vpon him according to his desarts. This past, many of ye Spanish Comanders came ashoare with Hilton, did goe to our houses, eate & drinke with vs, recreating themselfes, not doing violence to any man, and Soe att night returned to theire Shipps after many freindly complements.

Did they not goe for St. Christophers.

Yes having brought to pass what formerly is declared Sett Sayle for St. Christophers. Coming theire they found my Lords shipp runn aground, & halled hir of for ye King of Spaines vse.

When they came to St. Christophers what was done there.

The St. Christophers men vnderstanding what had passed att Nevis, Yeilded vpon ye same condicions Nevis had done. The Spanish Armado laid there til ye Shipping was made ready for ye transport of ye English, & shipped aboard such as would for England ye rest vpon ye Spanish Shipps. Yet for all that there were divers that tooke to ye woods & were not mist.

What did ye Spaniards then.

They made choise of theire hostages, Sett sayle, & soe departed from the Islands which made an end of all

our former related contraversies, dispersing of vs soe, that wee never all mett togeather againe.

What was ye names of ye hostages taken by ye Spaniards.

The names of ye hostages ye Spaniards made choise of was for St. Christophers Island.

Sergt Majr Donn of London[1] } Capt Chappell of Ire- *f. 506.*
Capt Geo. Hayes ye Lord of } land.
Carlile's Governor } Capt. Wm Digby of
Capt. John Stonne of London } London.

For Nevis Island.

Capt. John Coolle of London.
Capt. John Husbands a Yoresheire man.
Robert Merreton of London.
John Hilton borne in ye Bishoppricke of Durham.

What yeare was it ye Spaniards tooke these Islands.

Wee had been Settled vpon Nevis one yeare & halte when ye Spaniards came, Soe by estimacion it must be in ye yeare *1630* or *1631*.

What became of ye french when this did happen to you.

As I have bene informed, Some gott boats, & got vpon Islands not Inhabited & there stayed till ye Spaniards was gone & came downe againe to theire settlements.

Did ye Spaniards make any great inqiury after them.

Noe, It is to be supposed it was in favour to theire religion, as by ye circumstances happened since may appeare, for ye English being beat from of(f) ye

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[1] Donn (or Dunne) is mentioned in Mr. Astree's deposition (printed p. 27 below) as being one of the planters who had been compelled to accept a patent from the Earl of Carlisle for his estates on St. Christophers.

Tartodus[1] by ye Spaniard, & likewise from St. Cruze, ye french did presently settle them. And ye Spaniards have not in many yeares that they have possest them any way mollested them, which argues it must be as aforesaid ye cause.

How were these Islands resettled.

S[r] Tho. Warner being gone for England & likewise Capt. Anth. Hilton governor of Nevis, both being in London when newes came ye Spaniards had taken ye Islands of which they were governors, (they) renewed theire Comissions, gott more men & came over againe to resettle them Islands. S[r] Tho. Warner att St. Christophers found divers men. Some that had taken ye goods, others ye shipping that were to carry them hence, had returned, & put Such men as was willing ashoare vpon theire Islands againe, Soe that they made a considerable companie for ye resettling of St. Christophers. And as for Capt. Antho. Hilton when he came for Nevis found likewise a considerable companie, amongst which there was one Mr. James Russell, whome ye people that was there had made choise of for theire governor, betwixt whome & Cap[t] Hilton there was some difference on that night att Hiltons first coming there about theire government. But ye next morning it was soe agreed vpon that Capt. Antho. Hilton should be governor.

Mr. Tho. Littleton ye merchant before Spoken, that was att ye cost & charges of Settling Nevis att first,

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[1] Tortuga, a small barren island, had long been the favourite base for pirates. Hilton's party settled there in 1630; but in the following year the London merchants who were financing the venture amalgamated with the Puritan Providence Company (see A. P. Newton, *Colonising Activities of the English Puritans*, Yale Univ. Press). Trouble began that same year when fifteen of the planters were caught by the Spaniards and hanged (cf. Sir Henry Colt's Narrative, p. 81 below). In 1635 a strong Spanish force invaded the island, under Don Fernandez de Fuemayor, massacred the inhabitants and destroyed every building. In consequence of this and of a similar attack on Providence Island itself, the Company undertook energetic reprisals against the Spaniards.

being by that meanes fallen behind hand in his estate, & hearing ye Island begann againe to be well Settled came over to see what he could gett amongst (them). Now att his arrivall att Nevis, Capt. Antho. Hilton, *f. 506b.* with others there being most if not all debtors to him, considering his great losses he had had about ye Settling ye Island, did resigne to him ye government, & did goe to Settle Tartodus.

Mr. Tho. Littleton being governor of Nevis what did happen then.

The hostages afore spoken of was gott out of prisson where they had endured much missery for ye space of five yeares & better. One of them named Jo. Hilton brother to Capt. Antho. Hilton gone for Tartodus to Settle, came in a great shipp from Midleborough, which did wholly belonge to my Heare Rueboroe[1] & was honest with ye Command Soe longe as he remained aboard bound for Tartodus; & touching att Nevis did goe ashoare to present his Service to governor Littleton, & to see some of his freinds & acquaintance there. Comming to ye governors house ye governor pretended greate freindshipp to him, & did invite him to Stay dinner. But being att Dinner, ye governor had commanded a gard of musketteers (to) come in with theire armes ready to present vpon him, telling him he was his prissioner. "What," said Hilton. "Noe Sooner out of one imprissonment but into another, I beseech you tell me ye cause." "I will," said ye governor. "Your brother is dead, and you are going there to possess what he hath; & now I have you here I will be satisfied for what your brother owes me." Hilton made answeare, "I am more sorry to heare my brother is dead, than feare what you can doe to me. Am I to pay my brothers debts? doe I owe you any thinge?" Upon which Mr. Procter was called for to oversee ye books, where Hilton was found Debtor for six

[1] *i.e.*, Mynheer Rumeboroe or Runeboroe (?).

hooes. Hilton putt his hand in his pockett & drew out a handfull of Dollers. " Pay your Selfe," said he. With that Mr. Luke Stoakes did desire ye governor to speake with him. Soe going into another roome (they) had Some discourse togeather; The governor coming out discharged him of his imprissonment. Hilton being inwardly vext, made show to ye contrary, but after many cupps Hilton pretending greate freindshipp to them, Invited them aboard to be merry. They consenting did goe aboard, Hilton making them welcome with good wine & victualls & gunning. Seeing his opportunity (he) stept out & tould ye Skipper how they had donn by him ashoare. " Well," said ye Skipper, " Speake but ye words, & I will sett them ashoare att Hispaniola amonge ye Cow Killers." " Noe," said Hilton, " not soe, but I will fright them; lett theire bee a dozen musketteers ready in ye gunnroome with theire matches lighted, & when ye heare me give a hem & stampe come into ye Cabin & soe to ye gallere, & soe clapp to each mans breast a muskett, to ye governor first." Which being performed, " Now," said Hilton, " you are my prissioners, & I will make you knowe sorrowe soe well as I have donn"; called for Irons, and tould them he would sett them ashoare amonge ye Cow Killers. When one Capt. Sparrowe began to resist, " Shoot ye dogg thorough," said Hilton, " and throwe him out ye gallery " " Oh," said ye governor, " save our lives & doe what you will," being more a merchant then a Souldier, was mightely affrighted, Soe that Hilton thought he would have presently died. Soe Hilton fearing that he would have died aboard called for a boat, & bid them turne ye Knaves ashoare who were not worthe the Trouble hee should bee att with them.
f. 507. Soe (he) sett them ashoare, Sett sayle & soe proceeded on for Tartodus.

What did Littleton after.

Being in hopes to procure some of Hiltons estate did

followe John Hilton but did Die by ye way. Soe Hilton did never see him more.

Who did Littleton leave his Deputy when he went off.

As I have bene informed he left Mr Luke Stoakes his Deputy.

Now you have given me this foregoing relacion, tell me what governors have bene vpon Nevis since ye first Settling as you are an old Standard.

As neare as I can, I will; first

Governor Antho. Hilton who settled it in ye yeare *1628*, ye 22th of July, going for England, left Capt Will. Vallett his Deputy. Vallett fled when the Spaniards came, Mr. James Russell, chosen governor by ye people left after the Spaniards departure from Nevis; Capt Antho. Hilton returned againe with Comission, & was governor againe. After (he) did goe to Settle Tartodus, resigned his government to ye merchant, Mr Tho. Littleton. Littleton going for Tartodus left Mr. Luke Stoakes his Deputy. Littleton dying vpon ye voyage, Sr Thomas put in Stoakes his place, Capt Thomas Sparrowe. After came Majr Hunckes,[1] next him Capt Jenings, after him Jenkin Lloyde, after him left by Lloyde, parson John Meakem, after him put in by Sr Tho. Warner, Capt John Kettleby, after him Capt Jacob Lake, after Lakes death Governor Luke Stoakes, then Collonell James Russell, then Collonell Randall Russell, his brother.

What Generalls have bene here in ye Leward Islands.

Sr Thomas Warner first.

Generall Sr Charles Wheeler.[2]

Generall William Stapleton.[2]

[1] Hunks had been sent out to Barbados in June, 1639, by the Earl of Carlisle to act as his governor in place of the rebellious Capt. Hawley, who had gone over to the Earl of Warwick, Carlisle's rival. Hawley, however, was too much for Hunks, who was obliged to retire discomfited to Antigua. After being reinstated at Barbados in 1640, he was recalled to England a year later, where he died soon afterwards. Cf. John Scott's "Description of Barbados," *Sloane MSS.* 3662, f. 60b.

[2] For an account of the administrations of Wheeler and Stapleton see Higham's *Development of the Leeward Islands, ut supra.*

(ii) "NARRATIVE OF THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF ST. CHRISTOPHERS AND HOW IT WAS TAKEN FROM MY LORD WILLOUGHBY'S DEPUTY.

f. 508. April 29th, *1675.*"

1. *How was ye Island of St. Christophers first Inhabited by ye English & by the French, & how it was Shared betweene both Nations.*

The Island of St. Christophers was first Settled by ye worthy & renowned Capt. Thomas Warner (afterwards Knighted by King Charles ye first), with Seaventeen other persons Gentlⁿ adventurers with him in ye yeare *1623*, who when they came to settle found a french man vpon itt amongst ye Indians & went naked as they did, named Peter Cottey, putt on shoare out of a Shipp for recovery of his health. In a short time after came a french gentlⁿ, with a Certaine number of french men with him, named Monsr de Numbec, betwixt whom & Sr Thomas Warner ye Island was devided, one halfe for the English & ye other halfe for ye french, from White flag bay being ye westerly parte & frigett Bay being ye Easterly parte of ye Island. Ye midle of both which sides fell to ye english nacions lott; which said Settlers Continued in peace & good amitie vntill ye yeare *1629*, theire being certaine Articles made betweene ye said governors to assist one ye other against any enemy that should oppose or invade them. All which above declaracion ye declarants affirme that they have from time to time received from Coll. John Bedingfeilde, Sometime Governor of ye said Island for ye English nacion, ye aforesaid Peter Cotte of the french nacion, ye aforesaid Coll. Bedingfeild being one of ye first seaventeene English Settlers. And in ye yeare *1629* one of ye said Declarants by name Lieut Coll. William Freeman now here

resident came to this Island St. Christophers from London in ye good shipp called ye Carlisle, Commander in cheife Capt. Henry Hawley & one Geo. Deinnis master.[1] And ye said Declarant further Sheweth that after a moneth or thereabouts came a powerfull fleete of Spaniards of about *37* Sayles who surprized & tooke most of our Shipping & came to an anchor att Shambers Roade in ye French quarter, & ye next day landed ye most parte of theire forces. S^r^ Thomas Warner being then in England had left his Sonn Edward Warner to be his Deputie governor, who according to Articles caused all his able men to be drawne vp in armes & commanded them to march to Basseterre to assist ye French, who being theire ready In armes to resist their enemy desired to have ye van which was granted them. Ye Cap^t^ or Commander of the said Company leading on Couragiously vpon ye enemy, It was his fortune to be ye first Shott & died. Ye Company seeing him fall fled presently away to Sandy point as fast as they could, throwing away their armes along ye way as they went, & ye English retreated in order to theire owne quarters. The next day following were gentl^n^ Commissioners sent from ye English on board to treat of peace, & ye treaty was concluded that ye English were all to goe to ye Island & went to surrender vp ye Island, Artillery, armes, Ammunicion & all merchandize, onely excepting all Sorts of apparell linen & woollen, & ye Spaniards to furnish them Shipping for ye transporte of their people for England.

There was att that time a privateere of France named Geeroon, with two or three Shipps, who tooke on board his vessells all ye french that were vpon ye Island att Sandy point & carried them away from ye Island untill ye Shipping were all gone. *f. 508b.*

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[1] Cf. the Deposition of George Dennis, printed p. 41 below.

There was one of ye eighteene of ye first English Settlers named Morris Gardner[1] who fled into ye woods, with Severall others & stayed vpon ye Island vntill as well ye Spanish Shipps, as those that were to transport ye English were all gone. After which those that fled into ye woods assembled togeather, & made choise of said Gardner to be theire governor. In a short time aftere ye said Geroon returned to ye Island with his Shipping & all ye men he had carried off, & by a wile forceably landed them againe.

Before ye prissioners gott home for England, Sr Tho. Warner returned againe & Settled ye Island in ye yeare *1630*. Ye aforesaid Lieut Collonell Freeman returned again and did continue an Inhabitant vpon ye Island from that time till ye fatall yeare *1666*; in all which time ye two nacions continued in good Ametie. And in the yeare *1631*, there was a Settlement made by one of ye English att ye great Salt pan by name William Summers; but their being noe water to be had without much labour & toyle, ye Settlers left ye Islands & went to ye Tartoodes to Settle there. In ye time of Coll. Clement Everrards government the great Salt pan was settled betwixt ye English & ye French, but noe parting of any of said land betwixt frigott bay & St. Christophers point to this day.

2. *How St. Christophers was taken by ye French from my Lord Willoughbyes Deputy Governor & of all ye transaccion betweene ye English and them.*

In ye time of Coll. William Watts[2] who was my Lord Willoughbies Deputie Governor there was an Article made

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[1] Morris Gardner is mentioned as being one of the leading planters who had been compelled to submit to Carlisle's proprietorship. (Mr. Astree's Deposition, printed p. 27 below,)

[2] Watts was an experienced merchant and sea captain who under the Commonwealth had acted in close co-operation with Martin Noel and Thomas Povey. Owing to their influence with Lord Willoughby he was appointed Governor of St. Christophers in Feb., 1661. [*Egerton MSS* 2395, f. 303.]

betweene both nacions & confirmed with ye others formerly made betweene Sr Tho. Warner & Monsr De Namburg, which was that their should be noe acts of hostillity used by either nacion against ye other, without Speciall orders had from theire Severall Princes, & that if they received any such orders, yett their should be three times twenty and foure houres warning given before any hostillity should be vsed on either side. Notwithstanding which said Articles, ye French forces vpon ye tenth day of Aprill *1666* fell vpon our English on ye windward side of this Island att Cayonne & Soe wasted, Slaughtered & burnt vntill they came as far as Capistarr, to theire owne French ground, before ye English offered any violence to them. That day about noone our English forces fell vpon ye French att ye house of Monsr De Lesprance[1] att Sandy point, where they were worsted & put to retreate.[2] Ye next day being ye 11th of April *1666*, They came to ye Capitulacion herevnto annexed, by which in ye Sixth & Seaventh Articles ye English were to remaine peacably possessors of theire estates or dispose of them to their most advantage. Contrary to which Articles, those declarants togeather with severall others ye Inhabitants were constrayned to sell theire estates att a very lowe *f. 509* price, & that price was paid to them in Merchandize att such rates as ye buyer was pleased to Sett vpon theire

[1] *i.e.*, St. Laurence.

[2] The narrative here omits some important facts. The Treaty of neutrality had been signed by Watts (Jan. 20th, 1666) with great reluctance, and both he and Lord Willoughby, realising the strength of their position, were determined to oust the French from St. Christophers in the event of war. As soon as the outbreak of hostilities became known, Watts informed De Sales, the French Governor, and obtained strong reinforcements from Nevis and from the buccaneers of Statia under the leadership of the celebrated Henry Morgan. By so doing he broke the agreement which stipulated that no hostilities should be undertaken except on receipt of *definite* instructions from the King. It was largely as a result of this aggressive attitude that the French determined to strike first by means of a surprise attack. (Cf. *Egerton* 2395, ff. 348 & 459; also *Du Tertre III*, 275–296, who lays all the blame upon Watts.) Both Watts and Morgan and a great number of the buccaneers were killed in this action.

Comodeties. And besides theire was in Severall of their Contracts great Summes of Sugar & monies mencioned by them paid, which ye Sellers never agreed for, nor never Received, by which indirect meanes togeather with ye pretencions of theire great Melioracions, ye Sellers could not reimburst them before the time was elapsed.

3. *Matter of fact of Injuries received Since ye peace with attested probacions of them.*

The peace was concluded ye $\frac{21}{31}$ July *1667*, a Coppy whereof did appeare (in) ye French. And about ye last of October following heare did arrive ye Articles of ye peace made att Breda; att which time there came a Comand from ye french nacion [to] ye Inhabitants of this Island, commanding all ye English Inhabitants then heare residing to keepe theire habitacions from Sunn Sett to Sunn riseing vpon perill of theire lives. By which meanes and att which time from ye latter end of October aforesaid to ye May following (then my Lord Willoughby appeared) they did transporte & carry away from ye English quarters all ye timber of our churches, & bells, ye Cannon belonging to ye forts, & demolished the said forts, & all ye timber of other housen & buildings Standing vpon those plantacions called by ye french ye Kings land because they were abandoned some by the proprietors, & of others that were Slaine in ye Combate, with many other housen & good buildings, & Coppers sold for a very small value, besides ye demolishing many good Indigeo & Sugar workes, [and] the destruccion of all ye timber in ye woods & mountaines which hath made ye Inhabitants incapable of rebuilding; To ye utter ruine of vs ye poore inhabits heare. A more particular narrative of our Injuries [we] have remitted to Your Lordshipps formerly.

In testimonie wherof wee have herevnto Subscribed our names being thervnto Called this 29th Aprill *1675.*

WILLIAM FREEMAN
JOHN ESTRIDGE
ROBT CAVE
JOHN WILKINSON
JOHN ALLEN
GILBERT LOXLEY
ROBT CLARKE
PHILLIPP LAMBERT
CHARLES MORRIS
JOHN VERSILL
WILLIAM PLUMER
JOHN BAYLY
SAMPTON MANERINGE
EDWARD PARKER.

Articles betweene ye English & French vpon St Christophers; made vpon the evasion of ye French, & ye Surrender of ye English ye $\frac{11}{21}$ *April 1666.* f. 509b.

1. The result of ye Councell of warr, being present in cheife Monsr Le Chevalier of St. Laurence, assisted with ye principall officers, having deliberated vpon ye demands which ye English Gentlemen have made to come to a treaty, have resolved not to consent thervnto in any wise unlesse ye English gentlemen doe acknowledge his thrice Christian Majestie for theire Soveraigne & give their oathes vnto him.
2. They shall have no other governor but ye French.
3. They shall surrender ye Forts, artillery & fire armes.
4. That all vollentiers, vagabonds, & loose persons shall be obleiged to depart this Island within ye time that shall be appointed, and for Procuritie of this treaty they shall send for hostages Lieut. Coll. Loveraine,

Majr Crooke, Capt Cooke, Capt Jefferies & Mr. Herbert, & Lieut Robt. Clarke to be at four a clocke in ye afternoone in the Campe at Sandy point, vpon default whereof without any more to be considered and without remission they shall vigriously proceed.

5. That all English Inhabitants shall continue peaceable possessors of theire goods which wee promise as wee are persons of honour.
6. Moreover it is agreed that ye said English gentlemen may imbarque them Selfes & theire famillies & moveables, & dispose of theire immoveables whensoever they please, in which moveables negroes & beasts are not comprehended which they shall not carry off but may dispose of them by sale, Vpon Condition that ye boates, barques & vessells which shall come to fetch them, shall be obleiged to come to an anchor directly into ye roade of ye backstarr of this Island, in which case they shall take an order from Monsr. Le Chevalier St. Laurence of ye place where ye said English gentlemen who have desired to depart would goe.
7. It is further agreed by ye said Msr Le Chevalier St. Laurence & by all ye principall officers of ye said English gentlemen that they who would remaine vnder ye obedience of his Majestie may live in ye Liberty of theire conscience, but not to have temples or to make any assembly whatsoever or to Comitt any act whereby ye Catholique may be Scandalized. Made ye day & yeare above written.

Msr Chevalier De St. Laurence.

Note.—It was while leading an expedition from Barbados (July, 1666) in an attempt to regain St. Christophers, that Francis Lord Willoughby was drowned in a hurricane and the fleet scattered. (See Account of his death printed pp. 196–198 below.) A further attempt, conducted by Henry Willoughby and Sir John Harman in 1667 (which preceded the victorious campaign in Guiana), was defeated.

(iii) "A BRIEF COLLECTION OF THE DEPOSITIONS OF WITNESSES AND PLEADINGS OF COMMISSIONERS AT LAW IN A DIFFERENCE DEPENDING BETWEEN THE MERCHANTS AND INHABITANTS OF BARBADOS ON THE ONE PART AND THE EARL OF CARLISLE, LORD WILLOUGHBY, &C., ON THE OTHER PART. THE SAID DEPOSITIONS WERE TAKEN THE 15, 17, 19 & 26 OF MARCH 1647 AND THE 9 OF APRIL 1647."[1]

John Ackland.

1622 and 1623.

Then was St. Christophers Planted by this deponent in [the] ship *Marmaduke* of London and nineteen persons to plant there. [There were] none there but Indians and three Frenchmen left by shipwrack. It was not planted, but only such as the Indians had done.

John Denny.

Master (1623) in the *Marmaduke* [was] set out by Mr. Mortishead and other Adventurers to St. Christophers, and landed nineteen men and found none but Indians and

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[1] These depositions [*Rawlinson MSS.*, "C." 94 (Bodleian)] were obtained from a number of the original settlers by a group of London merchants and Barbadians, who were making a strenuous effort to get rid of the proprietorship of the Earl of Carlisle. The case was debated before the Plantations Committee, to which Parliament had referred the matter. The Courteen claim was conclusively vindicated; but as Sir William himself had died in 1636 and his son was abroad (*Egerton MSS.*, 2395, f. 602), the Carlisle proprietorship was allowed to continue. In fact, many of those who had pressed for the enquiry liked the idea of a Courteen régime as little as that of Carlisle himself. They hoped for freedom to go their own way under the direct (but nominal) control of the Crown. The controversy was re-opened in 1656, when Henry Powell was called upon to give evidence before the Commissioners of Bankruptcy on behalf of the heirs of Sir William Courteen, and again after the Restoration, when the Barbadians' desire for royal instead of proprietary rule was acceded to. But the Courteen family never received compensation for the injury which they had suffered.

The depositions here printed are selected and arranged from a large number, in order to avoid unnecessary repetition and to provide as far as possible a connected story. Copies of these and similar depositions, are to be found in the *Trinity College, Dublin, MSS.* G. 4.15, No. 736.

three Frenchmen, and planted there two yeares together before [they] had any supply.

Mr Morice Thompson, St. Christophers.[1]

1626. This deponent [was] sent out to St. Christophers with Captain Coomes to *plante [with] about sixty slaves. Then was three vessells sente.

1627. [He] sent two shippes ye *Plow* and ——. And as ye *Plow* was going out, Lord Lee sent to stay ye shippes, and Captain Coombes was taken into the messingers hands, and Lord Lee was pleased to present this petitioner to Earle Carlile to have Comand of ——. And they told his Lordship the Inhabitants [feared for?] there lives and estates . . . The Spaniards had threatened to hang them; and Lord Lee desired them to attend Earle Carlile. His Lordship told them thay should have Immunities; and if [they] would take Pattents from him, they should live free from Custome ten yeares. And thereupon they woke a pattent from Lord Carlile for a thousand acres and another Pattent to land goods at any Porte in England Custom free; and then my Lord sent

[1] For corroboration as regards the participation of Thompson and Coombes in the settlement of St. Christophers, petition to the Privy Council, *Acts of the Privy Council*, Colonial Series, No. 200 (January 20th, 1628). Maurice Thompson was one of the most prominent merchant adventurers of his time. His extensive "interloping" activities in Canada brought him into collision with the Government, in consequence of which he was imprisoned (1632-1633) in the Marshalsea [*Acts of the Privy Council*, Col. Ser., Nos. 285, 287, 288, 296–7, 307.] So powerful was the "combine" which he controlled that it succeeded in obtaining a monopoly of the entire output of tobacco from Virginia. In 1633, a protest was lodged before the Privy Council that "one, Morris Thompson, and his Adherents Marchants of London, have contracted with the Governor & Councell of Virginia . . . that no shipp, but such as the said Morris Thompson and his Adherents, or their Assignes shall send thether, shall have anie lading from thence, nor that any Planter there shall sell any of his Tobacço, or other goods, but to the said Thompson, &c. . . ." [*Ibid.*, No. 314.] The monopoly was accordingly declared void. Not only did his activities extend also to the Bermudas [*ibid.*, No. 471], but in 1642 he helped to finance the well-known buccaneering expedition of Capt. William Jackson [see Jackson's *Narrative*, ed. Harlow, *op. cit.*]; and again in 1655 he took a prominent part in fitting out the Venables expedition which captured Jamaica. [*Thurloe State Papers*, II, p. 542.]

a Comand to pay ninepence and twelvepence the pound, and said he had graunted he knew not what, and therefore would not make it good.

Lieut. Coll. Feilding.

[His] ffirst voiage [was] in 1627 [when he] went Agent for Thomas Stone and Maurice Thompson. Sir Thomas Warner [was] there, and my Lord of Carlile had nothing to doe there then. Maurice Thompson told him he had a grant of a thousand acres from Lord Carlile, and he shewed the Pattent. [There was] not above five hundred acres Laid out of it, and mean men of fortunes. *1627.*

[There is] noe Councell there [but] what the gouvernour pleaseth. And the fifth parte of what [was] then Inioyed [was] demanded of the planters. Some of them paid it, and exacted of them it was generally on all planters. The Iland was fortified by the Countrey, only some ordnance [being] sent by Lord Carlile.

Havercampe & Moale[1] came over with a Comission from Lord Carlile and imposed divrs duties; but the people tooke it ill and mutinied; and the Ordinance [was] turned Landwards towards y^e^ plantac̃ions.

M^r^ Astree, St. Christophers.

In 1623 M^r^ Astree Arrived there, and untill 1627 never heard of Lord Carlile, & then heard of Havercampe & Moale whoe arrived there in 1628; Captain Pellham, Comander of my Lord's Plantac̃ons & servants, being a popish Recusante. Havercampe & Moale demanded a fifth parte of the Countrey; whereupon the Countrey rose

[1] Cf. the following statement :—" Mr. Moule and Mr. Havercome, being empowered by the Earl of Carlisle to settle more fully his Authority here, on their Arrival, they composed all Differences among the People, and constituted Wolverstone Governor, under the Earl of Carlisle for the whole island . . ." (*Some Memoirs of the First Settlement of the Island of Barbadoes . . . Extracted from Antient Records, Papers and Accounts . .*, p. 11, Barbados, 1741.)

and the ordinance beat upon y^e^ Countrey people. And prisoners were taken on either side. Anno 1630 one Friend was whipte for speaking against Bishop Abbott, whipte four dayes. [This was] done by the Gouernor and Councell without any tryall at Law, Sir Thomas Warner being gouvernour; and [they] sent him in Chaines, [after being] Imprisoned a quarter of a yeare, and a paper in his hatt to the Councell in England. And there he was quitt, and mett M^r^ French in Crowland, where he was Minister. 1629, y^e^ Iland [was] taken. All the Plantations made by Captain Edward Warner, Ashton, Hawley, Major Dunne, Morris Gardiner, Captain Pellham, [and] Bristow—the Gouernor and Councell did it—were forced to Come under his [*i.e.*, Carlisle's] Pattent. Captain Ramsey there [had] 1500 Musketieeres English Armed; the Spaniard [had] not above 260 landed. And y^e^ Spaniard durste [not] March in till the ordinance were dismounted by Comand of the gouernor & his Councell. The gouernors warrant [was] to bring in all to the forte, and then [he] entered it upon record. [There was] a fifth parte [as] a tax for y^e^ gouernor.

James Barrey Esq^r^, St. Christophers.

Ano. 1630. Saith hee hath beene there twenty seven yeares, and came thence three yeare since, and that men women & Chilldren paid 20 lbs per annum for poll [tax] to the Lord Carlile's use, or 7^d^ per pound and 2^d^ there[1], 20 lbs to the Gouernour, 10 lbs to the Captain, 10 lbs to the minister, and for three yeares a hen a head and 20 lbs for every hen not paid. [They] seize upon servants & goods; one of his servants [being] taken for feudall duties & [was] then forced to pay it. [It was] alwaies paid or [they] distreyned goods or servants. They made a restrainte on Tobacco for three yeares and an Imposition, and a

[1] *i.e.*, a tax of 2^d^ per lb. at St. Christophers and another 7^d^ per lb. on arrival in England.

restrainte for two yeares by [order of the] Governour & Councell.[1]

Sander Short [was] hanged five yeares since. [He] was brought in for Calling Collonell Jefferson[2] traitor, & was sentenced to be burned in the tongue and to aske forgiveness. The defendant was contente, and alleadged he was the kings subiecte and would appeale to Caezar. Then againe [he] was fetcht in and tried by a Councell of warre. And thereupon the Countrey rise in Armes, one thousand five hundred men, upon the death of this man. Then Sir Thomas Warner the Governor's son went to fetch in y^e^ French, and they desired to know the Cause of death; and Twoe dayes after the ordinance [was] dismounted. [The rebels were?] threatened to be put to death. Sir Thomas wept; [and the] men that risse ran away. They cast lots and one [was] hanged.

An Abstracte of some principall passages Concerning S^r^ William Courteen his heires and their Claime in and to

[1] The planters were inclined to blame the Carlisle proprietorship as the cause of all their woes; but the policy of discouraging the tobacco industry was dictated by the Home Government, which after vainly endeavouring to suppress the industry altogether, had declared tobacco a royal monopoly and restricted its importation entirely to the port of London. Particularly anxious were the imperial authorities (in accordance with the economic theory of the time) to prevent the direct exportation of English Colonial tobacco to foreign countries. No one realised more clearly the disadvantages of these restrictions than did Sir Thomas Warner himself. Writing home in 1639, he stated that "through the restraint on tobacco, the poor planters are debarred from free trade, and unable to furnish themselves with necessaries, much less to buy ammunition." *Calendar of Colonial State Papers*, 1574–1660, p. 251. Cf. *Acts of the Privy Council* (Colonial Series, 1613–1680), Nos. 269, 280, 291, 335, 351, 356, &c. Moreover when in 1639 Warner agreed with the French Governor, De Poincy, to stop the cultivation of tobacco for eighteen months, his purpose was to protect the planters from the injurious effects of over-production. [Cf. Père du Tertre, *Histoire Générale des Antilles . . .*, I, pp. 143–145.]

[2] Colonel John Jeaffreson had been of the original adventurers with Ralph Merrifield in the settlement of St. Christophers. In the patent granted on September 15th, 1625, Jeaffreson had been nominated as Governor of St. Christophers and the neighbouring islands in the event of Warner's death. One of the most prominent members of the family was Christopher Jeaffreson, a planter who took an active part in the political life of St. Christophers during the latter part of the seventeenth century. Cf. *A Young Squire of the 17th Century.*

the Island Barbadoes in West India, Trulie Collected and taken by John Darell from Cap^t^ Henry Powell John Powell his Boatswaine & others constantly imployed therein ; And now most humbly presented to the most serious and Iudicious Consideracon of the right hon^ble^ Comittee of Lords & others appointed by his Maiestie for Plantacons in America.[1]

An. ffeb : 1626 :

That then S^r^ William Courteen K^t^ (a memorable Merchant and good Comon wealth man) did land there from London, by the ship *William and John,* Cap^t^ Henry Powell Comander, about 50 people well fitted and provided to possess and inhabitt the said Iland for him : And there did first set up the Kings Collours.

That the said Comander did then likewise fetch 32 Indians from the mayne w^th^ tobacco suger canes Cotton plantaines Potatoes Cassada pines &^c^ (some of them yet liveing) to assist and instructe the english to advance the said plantacon.

In May 1627 : That then the said S^r^ William from London, sent another supply (viz^t^) the shippe *Peter* and pinnace *Thomasine,* Cap^t^ John Powell Comander, and in May 1627 landed more upon the said Iland about 80 men and women and setled the government upon John Powell his son. And the said Twoe brothers and their men haueing cutt downe much wood to Cleare the ground 6 or 7 miles into the Iland, builte at leaste a hundred houses and a forte w^th^ severall peeces of ordinance and had likewise begun sundrie plantacons there ; To witt

1. The Corne Plantacon.
2. The Indian bridge plantacon.
3. The forte Plantacon.
4. The Indian plantacon eastward.
5. Powell's Plantacon.

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[1] *Rawlinson MSS*, "C." 94 (Bodleian).

And these branched themselves into Ten or Twelve plantacons.

This Iland being thus possest and planted by y^e^ said S^r^ William and his people only as aforesaid.

Then one Charles Woolverston came thither shortlie after from S^t^ Christophers (a Careebe Iland) and about 60 or 70 men w^th^ him (but noe provision) onlie w^th^ a freindly Letter of recomendacon from the Earle of Carlile (but in the imploym^t^ of Coll. Royden and Marchants of London) to the said Gouernour and people, therein desireing there Admittance upon their said Iland Barbados[1] which was granted them. But afterwards the said Woolverston seduced the people, imprisoned the Governour &c., and tooke the gouerment upon himselfe for the Earle of Carlile.

Then anno p^r^ dit 1628 the said Cap^t^ Henry Powell in the said ship *Peter* came thither againe w^th^ a third supply from London for S^r^ William aforesaid of about 80 men and women more and there landed them. And then by virtue of a pattent from the King to the Earle of Penbrook and Montgomerie (S^r^ William's noble freind in trust) Called an Assemblie, released his nephew John Powell from imprisonment and made him againe governour and haveing reduced and settled the people againe (about 1400 in number) in their due obedience to the said S^r^ William Courteen, brought the said Woolverstone prisoner to the Earle of Pembrooke to London.

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[1] In margin, " Coll Royden and March^ts^ of London shere." Colonel Royden and a number of other creditors in 1627 induced the Earl of Carlisle, who was on the verge of bankruptcy, to obtain a patent constituting him Proprietor of the Caribee Islands. Ten thousand acres in Barbados was then leased to them on very advantageous terms. " Col. Royden," we are told, " with severall merchants of London . . . having lent to the Earl of Carlisle severall summes of money . . . did combine with the said Earl of Carlisle to dispossess Sir William Courteen of his Island." [*Rawlinson MSS.*, " C." 94, f. 28, one of the depositions not included in the present selection. Cf. footnote, p. xxxii above.]

Then afterwards[1] one Henry Hawley arriving there from the said Earle of Carlile (& being denied landing) invited the governor and others to a mess of Kretchet brewes and there imprisoned them and sent them in chaines to St. Christophers, where they were all taken and destroyed by the Spaniards. And soe Hawley (yet there liueing) came into the gouern^{t} and excluded S^{r} William Courteen and his son to this day frome their prime Costs of planting, about 12,000 (besides great Charges of suits &c.), soe alsoe from all returnes of proffitte proceeding from the aforesaid possession and proprietie.

And lastly about 1656 or 1657 Cap^{t} Henry Powell abouesaid (the firste planter and possessor of the said Iland Barbadoes for S^{r} William Courteen) upon some occasion came thither againe and some of the abouesaid Indians and their Children (then men and women there liveing) came unto the said Cap^{t} and desired of him their freedomes according to his promise made to them when he brought them thither from their natiue countreys, Complaining that hitherto (contrary thereunto) they had beene kept under by the englishe there in power in great slavery and bondage. Whereupon y^{e} said Cap^{t} went with them to the Governour and requested their ffreedomes. And the said Governour thereupon verie Courteously did heare and grant his requeste. And made them ffree : And this the said Cap^{t} reported to M^{r} John Darell and sundrie others his freinds and acquaintance heere in England, to be a certaine truth : Which in comon reason strongly suggests thet there is some yet liueing there (both English and Indians) to contynue a reall and legall possession to S^{r} William Courteen and his heires to this very day.

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[1] In margin, " Earl Carlile's second usurpac̃on and pretension or violent intrusion, Anno 1629."

John Darell teste. Affidavit made 6° die Sept An Regni R^s^ Caroli 2^di^ duo decimo Anno: dom 1660, before Will Glascock a master in Chancery.

A Letter from King Charles I to Captaine Charles Wolverston, Governo^r^ of the Island of Barbados under the Earle of Carlisle.[1] *Feb. 1628.*

Trusty and welbeloved wee greet you well. Wheras wee by our letters patents under our greate seale of England bearinge date the second day of June in the third yeere of our reigne for divers good Consideracõns us thereunto moveing, Have given and graunted unto our right trusty and right welbeloved Cosen and Councello^r^ James Earle of Carlisle his heirs and assignes (amongst other things) the Island of Barbados, or by what name or names soever the same then was reputed, taken and knowne, or vulgarly named, within the 10 and 20 degrees of the Northerne Latitude. And wheras some differences are lately risen and growne by reason of a Graunt under our greate seale of England, by us made sithence the said Graunt to the said Earle of Carlisle, to our right trusty, and right welbeloved Cosen and Councello^r^ Phillip Earle of Mountgomery lord Chamberlaine of o^r^ howshold (amongst other things) of the Island of Barbados alʂ Barbado alʂ Barbudo, which in truth was formerly given to the said Earle of Carlisle, and lyes within the said Latitude, as upon severall proofes had in the said Cause betweene the said Earles, w^ch^ by their mutuall consent was referred to the order of our right trusty and welbeloved Councello^r^ Thomas lord Coventry Keeper of our greate seale of England did fully appear and whereof we have received ample satisfactõn. And forasmuch as the said Earle of Carlisle hath sent over a greate number of persons for and

[1] *Trinity College, Dublin, MSS.* (G. 4, 15), No. 736, p. 36. Carlisle hoped that this royal letter asserting his claims in Barbados would induce the Courteen settlers to submit to Wolverston, his envoy,

towards the plantac̃on of the said Islands and hath named and authorized you as Governo^{r} of them the said Islands; And wee alsoe understandinge that divers persons are goeinge over into the said Island under the protectõn of the said Earle of Mountgomery as they pretend, and under the Conduct of Captaine Powell, And that it is to be doubted that differences and debates may there arise betweene the said partyes sent thither under the said severall Coñannds, w^{ch} may turne to the greate preiüdice of us, and them, if some discreete and convenient settlement be not made therein. Our Will & Pleasure therefore is, and wee doe heereby will and Coñannd the said Captaine Powell and all and every other person and persons whatsoever are or shall be under the Rule order and protectõn of any other person or persons other then the said Earle of Carlisle or his Governo^{r} or Deputy in the same Islands of Barbados alʂ Barbudos or by what other name the same is taken knowne or reputed to conforme themselfes imediately upon the declarac̃on of theis o^{r} letters to the order Rule and Goverm^{t} of the said Earle of Carlisle, or his said Governo^{r} or Deputy, and to pay unto him or them such dutyes Rents Customes and Imposts, as wee by our said letters pattents or any other letters pattents made by us to the said Earle of Carlisle sithence, are or ought to be paid, And that they and every of them consent agree and Coheere in their said obedience to the said Earle of Carlisle or his Governo^{r} or Deputy in the said Island upon his or their allegiance to us, and upon penalty of Confiscac̃on of their goods, and such other forfeitures to us, or the said Earle of Carlisle as to the same appertaineth; And wee doe heereby straightly Chardge and Coñannd you the p^{r}sent Governo^{r} in the said Island under the said Earle of Carlisle to put in Execuc̃on this our Royall will and Coñannd, and to doe all things for the performance and Execuc̃on thereof as to you in yo^{r} Judgem^{t} shall seeme meete, And if any person or persons whatsoever

beinge our naturall borne subjects, which noweare or heereafter shall come into the said Islands, shall attempt to infringe or breake this our Royall will and Coñannd That then you take speedy Course for the punishmt and reformacõn thereof, Accordinge to the nature of the said offence, and alsoe to certefye us of their said Contempts, that wee may forthwith proceed against them as to iustice appertaineth. And theis our letters etc Exr

Dated the 3rd day of
February 1628.[1]

" London this 4th of Aprill Ao 1628.

A true Copie of Earle Carliles Letter as pr affidavit John Darell &c.[2]

To my very good freinds Capt John Powell and Capt William Deane and other his Maties Loueing subjects upon the Iland of Barbadoes. After my hearty Comendacons &c; Whereas his maties hath beene graciously pleased to make me a grante under the greate seale of England of all those seurall Ilands comonly known by ye name of the Careebe Islands and Lying in the west indias betwixt 10 and 20 degrees of northern Latitude, I have upon some Consideracons given Leaue to Capt Charles Woolverston the bearer heerof to transporte a Colonie for the beginning of a plantacon upon one of the said Ilands called Barbadoes; And because I understand from my good ffreind Sr William Courten that you

[1] A further letter was despatched, dated May 5th, 1629, authorizing Wolverston to put into execution the royal command of February 3rd, 1628, which had been suspended pending an enquiry into the real claims to the Island of the Earls of Carlisle and Montgomery, to both of whom grants had been made. Carlisle's claim had now been adjudged the stronger. A copy of this second letter is also included in the *Trinity College, Dublin, MSS.* (G. 4, 15), No. 736, p. 38. Wolverston, however, met with strenuous opposition from the Courteen settlers before he secured their submission to Carlisle. (See footnote, p. 40 below.)

[2] *Rawlinson MSS.*, " C." 94.

have alreadie begun a plantacon there w^th^ a certaine number of men, I have giuen Charge to Cap^t^ Woolverston soe to demeane and behave himselfe that neither he nor his people give you anie Just occasion of offence or trouble.

And I entreate you on the other side to receaue them as your freinds and Countreymen, the addition of whose strength cannot but further your securitie w^th^out anie way Impeaching your proffitt: And whatsoever Courtisies they shall receaue from you these I shall be ever readie to acknowledge or deserue from you or anie of your freinds heere in England. Soe wishing a happie succefs to your Endeauours I reste your very Lo(ving) ffreind.

CARLILE.

John Darell teste p^r^ Affidavit
made 6^o^ die Septembris Anno Regni R^s^ Caroli Scdi duo decimo Anno dom 1660 before William Glascock M^r^ in Chancerye."

The humble petic̃on of Cap^t^ Henry Powell; [1] *To the Right Hono^bl^ Daniel Searle Gouernour of the Iland of Barbados and to the worship^ll^ Councell the Assemblie of the said Iland Your petic̃oner doth humbley shew*

That in the yeare 1626 being warres betweene the Kingdome of England and Spaine your petic̃oner haueing procured a Comision against the estate of the Spaniards your petic̃oner was set forth of London at the proper cost & Charge of ffiue brethren (viz^t^), S^r^ William Courten, S^r^ Peter Courten, M^r^ John Motifye, Cap^t^ John Powell, and Cap^t^ Henry Powell, being partners in the said voiage.

[1] *Rawlinson MSS.*, "C." 94.

Your peticõner in the month of ffebruary in the aforesaid yeare tooke possession of this Iland of Barbados and settled heere 40 men or more and lefte my brothers son John Powell Gouernour ; and haueing lefte the aforesaid servants upon this Iland I proceeded in my Voiage to the Mayne to the river of Disacaba and there I lefte eight men and lefte them a Cargezon[1] of trade for that place. And I traded with the Indians of the aforesaid Mayne for all things that was to be gotten for the planting of this Iland of the Barbadoes ; And comeing downe the river of Disacaba there was Three Cannowes w^th^ Indians of the people that I had trade with followed me to the rivers mouth and upon a small Iland at the rivers mouth went a shore a little before night faire by the shipp. Your peticõner perceiuing that they followed the shipp and had a desire to speake w^th^ me, I went a shore to them and lay that night upon the Iland to knowe their intent to follow me soe farre. There answer was that they did perceiue by y^e^ things that I had bought of them that I was bound to plante an Island that lay to the northward of them and that they had relation from their forefathers that had beene upon an Iland that way that was not inhabited and they discribed the manner of the Iland to me, And that they had a desire to goe w^th^ me as free people to manure those fruits and that I should allow them a peice of Land, the which I did and they would Manure those fruits and bring up their children to Christianitie and that wee might

[1] D^r^ Edmundson (" The Dutch in Western Guiana," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. xvi), suggests that since one partner of the Courteen firm was Peter Boudaan (a director of the Dutch West India Company and a member of the Committee of the Zeeland Chamber for furthering colonization in Guiana), Powell's visit to Groenewegen and his Dutchmen on the main was therefore part of the original plan of the expedition. Powell and Groenewegen were acquainted with each other, as they had both served on some of the Courteen ships which had sailed in the service of the King of Spain to and from Punto de Arraya. The name of Groenewegen and all reference to the Dutch interests of Courteen and Co. is naturally omitted from these depositions, the object of which was to regain Barbados from the Earl of Carlisle.

driue a constant trade betweene that Iland and the Mayne for there was manie more of the Indians of that place that had a desire for to Come for that Iland the next yeare if I would come there againe. And some of them that I brought were the wiues and children of men that tarried behind & sent their wiues and Children wth me. And I had gone againe for that place but the alter$\tilde{a}$c$\tilde{o}$n of the goverm^{t} of this Iland was the occasion of the hinderance of my proceedings and that I came not to this Iland in Twentye yeares.

Therefore my petic$\tilde{o}$n is to the right honor^{ble} the Gouernour and the worship^{ll} y^{e} Assemblie of this Iland that they would take the petic$\tilde{o}$ners humble sute into consider$\tilde{a}$c$\tilde{o}$n and to set these poore people ffree that haue been kept thus long in bondage whereas I lefte them heere ffree people but the former Gouerm^{t} of this Iland hath taken them by force and made them slaues, therefore my desire is you would be pleased to make them ffree people.

Your petic$\tilde{o}$ner shall humblie pray &c

HENRY POWELL

The names of the Indians
Yow : a woman and her three Chilldren.
Barbadoes : a boy liueing at Coll. Ellises.

1625. John Powell of Ratcliffe in Stepney parish Marriner

Maketh Oath & saith : That he did Credibly heare and doth verily beleive that in the yeare 1625 S^{r} William Courten K^{t} of London, deceased, did furnish and send to sea the shippe *William* alias *John* alias *William and John*, John Powell Senior Comander, wth men and provisions to plante and possefs for him the said S^{r} William

the Iland of Barbadoes in the west indies. But some accident at sea did frustrate their intente and caused them to returne: And the said S^r^ William afterwards sent out the said shippe *John* (Cap^t^ Henry Powell Comander) where he this said John Powell went and in ffebruary, 1626. They landed upon the said Iland Barbadoes (then vacante w^th^out house or inhabitants) about 50 men well provided to possefs plant and inhabitt the same for S^r^ William Courten; and haueing soe done he this said John Powell went likewise w^th^ the said Comander Henry Powell in the said shipp *John* to Disacheebe neere Serinam upon the Coast of Guyana and brought from thence about 32 Indians. And returning from theree againe to the said Iland 1627 in May, they found the shipp *Peter* and pinnace *Thomasine* there arrived (Cap^t^ John Powell Senior aforesaid Comander), whoe had landed about 80 men and women more upon the said Iland for the said William Courten, our verie worthye & vigorous imployer and provider Supplier and paymaster. And haueing began sev^r^all plantac̃ons there we lefte the said Iland and went to the Leeward Ilands. And afterwards the aforesaid tuoe brothers John and Henry Powell Comanders haueing Charged shipps at sea we came for London.

And the said S^r^ William Courten being exceedingly encouraged w^th^ the good reporte and hopefullnefs of the said Iland, did ffurnish and ffitt us out againe w^th^ all expedition in the said shippe *Peter* w^th^ about 80 men and women more, and we landed them upon the said Iland in 1628, although with some trouble and opposition, caused Chieflie by one Charles Wolverston who had Imprisoned the Governour John Powell Junior and taken the Gouerm^t^ upon himselfe. And when we had againe reduced and settled the people in there due obedience to S^r^ William Courten, wee brought the said Wolverston and one Deane prisoner to

London.[1] All which y^e^ aforesaid premisses he the said John Powell (being Constantly Imployed therein for the said S^r^ William Courten) doth well remember and certainly know the same to be the truth and nothing but the truth.

John Powell. Suorne y^e^ 30^th^ Day of October 1660 before one of the masters of the Chancery in ordinary.

WILLIAM GLASCOCK.

Cap^t^ Henry Powell Examinate, Barbadoes.

M^r^ Cleere (and) John Turkerman about 20 yeares since went w^th^ Cap^t^ Henry Powell to Barbadoes. [There were] noe people there untill they Came. They planted it firste w^th^ Corne and Cutt doune trees and made houses, and lefte 40 or 50 people there for S^r^ William Courten. And S^r^ W^m^ paid them wages. Then they went to y^e^ Mayne to Disakeebe a 3 or 4 weeks voiage till settled the people; and thence they brought Indians w^th^ Materialls Cassada rootes and Endicoes to worke.

(They) landed then 2 guns & 26 Armes for the planters, and Cap^t^ John Powell Cap^t^ Henry Powells brother arrived there soone after w^th^ (the) ship *Peter* & pinnace *Thomasine*.

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[1] Deane was taken home prisoner for having deserted the Courteen cause and submitted to Wolverston, the Earl of Carlisle's representative. "Wolverstone accordingly appointed his Lieutenant and Council, and called a Court before which he summoned the Leeward Men to make their appearance, at the Bridge, which they accordingly did, under Dean their Governor. But all of them (*except* the Governor, who was Countryman to Wolverston, both being Bermudans) refusing to submit, either to Wolverstone, or the Earl of Carlisle's Authority, they made Torches of wild canes, and return'd that night to their Habitations. Wolverstone therefore raised his Men in Arms, and marched them, *under the Comand of Governor Dean*, as far as the Hole, declaring themselves for the Earl of Carlisle." (*Some Memoirs of the First Settlement of the Island of Barbadoes . . . Extracted from Antient Records, Papers and Accounts . . .*, p. 11, Barbados, 1741). These events took place in September, 1628.

John Cleere Examinate.

Went boatswaine in the ship *John* w^th^ Cap^t^ Henry Powell to Barbadoes 20 or 21 yeares since, and (there were) not anie people upon it. He went w^th^ John Turkerman the quarter Master and lefte 30 or 40 men or more upon S^r^ William Courteens Adventure; and Cap^t^ John Powell and Cap^t^ Hen: Powell paid them wages for the firste voiage. John Powell imployed him, & S^r^ William Courteen victualled & got them out. From thence they wente to disakeebe in the Mayne and brought all provisions as roots &c and 30 Indians to the Barbadoes. They made three plantac̃ons at that time when they came back. M^r^ Irishe came thither w^th^ one shippe, he went to y^e^ Indies and came up againe w^th^ Cap^t^ John Powell. (He says) That Cap^t^ Henry Powell went as a man of warre to the Indias where ther were not any men. They landed men at y^e^ Barbados and went by the yeare for paye.

Cap^t^ Dennis examinate, of Barbadoes.

Cap^t^ Dennis was master of the ship Called *Carlisle* of London, which went to S^t^ Christophers by order of Carlile, first to Barbados then to S^t^ Christophers to settle y^e^ government for L. Carlile in y^e^ Barbadoes by a Letter from the King. They Comanded Cap^t^ Powell Aboard w^th^ diurs others and kept them prisoners there in Chaines at Mast three weekes. Hawley was Cap^t^ of the ship, And when Powell & the rest were there Cap^t^ Hawley Comanded y^e^ deponent to (serve) w^th^ Musketts. When he was there Hawley told them they were y^e^ Kinges prisoners, & Powell seemed to refuse. At dinner [hee] then Comanded him (viz^t^) Powell by that Letter to deliuer the Island to Hawley & settle y^e^ gouern^t^. Cap^t^ William Powell, brother to y^e^ gouernor John Powell, leapt ouerboard and made an escape; and soe y^e^ rest were caried a fortnight in chaines to S^t^ Christophers and were taken by ye

spaniards there. And my Lord sent noe Reliefe to Barbadoes.

"Capt William Bandock
Esqr, Barbadoes.

In 1629 [I] was at the Barbadoes. Then Hawley came in for the Lord of Carlile and could not haue his ends: (he) invited Capt Powell to Come aboard to breakfast; & at that time he was invited a shore. Att breakfast Powell and they were kept Prisoners & put in Chaines, & I saw them in Chaines. The Governours brother William Powell and some others leaped overboard and swamme to my shippe, and Hawley sent for them out of my shipp, and called them his prisoners. Bandock refused. Hawley sends againe peremptorilie. This, the deponent, Bandock againe refused, and tells him if he used violence he would sinke him; or Hawley him. And then after the Iland was in Hawley's power he, this deponent, went aboard and saw these Men in Chaines at the Mayn mast, and there kept a long time. And then [they] came to Mevis where they were taken by ye spaniards and till that time (they were) in Chaines. Capt Ramsey (was) a Cheife actor therein, and he saw him. Ramsey was one of Hawleys Councell and (was) Comonly wth him before and after. . .

(iv) "A BREIFE DISCRIPTION OF THE ILANDE OF BARBADOS."[1]

Barbados or Barbudos is the most easterly Iland of the Caribees, it lyes in the torrid zone in the height of 13 Degrees, and 20 Minnotts Northward from the line at the intrance into the Bay of Mexico. It is in length 30. in breadth 12. English miles and upward, from Northwest, to Southeast, in forme of an oval. The Land lyeth high

[1] *Trinity College, Dublin, MSS.* (G. 4, 15), No. 736, p. 182 *et seq.*

Donald Macbeth, photo-imp.

Map of Barbados, sent home by Sir Richard Dutton in 1684.

(*British Museum, Additional MS. 5414, f. 15.*)

much resembling England more healthfull then any of hir Neighbors; and better agreeing with the temper of the English Nacõn. The disposiĉõn of the Climate I thinke to be as Coole, and temperate, as in Holland in Summer time and am Sensible of a frossen and more delightfull arye in the heart of the Country then ever I found there in Jule or Jly. And this is noe Paradox these reasons may bee given for it, ffirst the gentle breize of wind, which increaseth as the Sunn rises, and decreasing as it Setts, never failes to comforte the traveller and qualify that heate that otherwise, would bee soe iniurious that noe man could endure its force. 2ly The Equality of day and night the Suns neerenes allottinge to either the same proportion of time in which the dewes of the night temparte the aire, wich the beames of the Sunn hath heated, the nighte being heere soe coole that lying in a Wastcoate on a good feather bedd I can indure on mee two Blancketts. 3ly The naturall moistures of the aire which keepes the sun beames from peircing with that force which els they would. 4ly The constant raignes which oft times with refreshing showers visit the planter, foure, or five times a day, to the greate comforte of the Inhabitates and blessing of the fruits. And in fine (for I referr the curious to the Schooles of more profound Phillosophers for further Satisfacõn) if the debaucht lives of the people did not prevent nature, it would be as temperate, and wholsome as it is a fertil, and plentifull Country. Winter and Sum̃er as touching could and heate differ not, neither doe the trees ever sensibly loose their leaves, but have alwaies fruite either Ripe or greene, and most of them, blossoms, Leaves, ripe fruite and greene at one time, a most delectable sight. The Winter onely consisteth of greate raignes; it beginneth aboute Agust, and lasteth till Christmas, in which time wee have often Land flood, which fall into Severall gullies, that many lose their Lives. Not three Weekes since above a dozen

were drowned, as alsoe some horses and Asuogos[1] Lauden with Suggar, a Gentleman that waited on my Lord was drowned not a ¼ of a mile from our dwelling, and one other of our family hardly escaped with his life. Yet sometimes the yeare is less wett, according to the disposicõn of the Heavens and of the planetts: and as the Sunn approacheth or declineth litle, or much even soe the earth wanteth or aboundeth with Water and moisture. The English first planted a Colony heere, Anno Domini 1627. There are supposed to bee 30,000 people in this Iland, Masters or freemen, Christian Servants, and Slaves, which must needs speake it a well settled and planted place, considering the small extent, and bigness, of it. For the merry planter, or freeman to give him a Caracter, I can call him noe otherwise then a German for his drinking, and a Welshman for his welcome, hee is never idle; if it raines hee toapes securely under his roofe, if faire hee plants and workes in the feild, hee takes it ill, if you pass by his doore, and not tast of Liquor. I shall breifely relate a story of a gentleman since my coming. Hee coming to have waited on my Lord, to make his way the shorter, crosses ones ground, that was newly sett over with Corne, and rydes by his house. The Planter meeting him, roughly demannds the reason of his preiudiciall Act, the Gentleman speaks him faire, promisses to returne noe more that way. The Planter hee is pacified, and asked him what hee would drinke, hee answeared him nothing, soe denying severall drinkes which the man earnestly proposed. The angry planter after 2 or 3 curses Comannded him backe the same way he came for his uncivility (as hee tearmed it) in refusing his proferr. Its the Custome for a Christian servant to serve foure yeares, and then enioy his freedome; and (which hee hath dearly earned) 10ł Ster. or the value of it in goods if his Master bee soe honest as to pay it; the

[1] *i.e.*, donkeys.

Negros and Indians (of which latter there are but few here) they & the generation are Slaves to their owners to perpetuity. The ordinary price a Negro is bought for, is 10 or 11 hundred pound of suggar. I could never yet come to know what Religion they are of, yet have I observed, that after their day labour is ended, they will not goe to their Sports, which usually thay have every night, till they have in their Cottages mumbled over some prayers, but what they are, or to whom directed I cannot tell.

The Iland is ruled by a governor (whoe now is my Lord Willoughby), Lord Leiuetenant Generall of the Caribee Ilands a Councell and Assembly : my Lord Creats all officers, and calls an Assembly ; the Councell are Select men pickt out of the Assembly : the assembly are the sevrall representatives of the Severall parishes, and as it were a Parliament. Under these are the Secretary of the Iland, the Provost Marshall, or Martiall, and under Martiall, and a Comissary ; the Lawes are corespondent to those of England. Till now that the Royall party ended the Controversy, it was dubious before how the Iland stood affacted, some being found out that strove to sett upp the Westminster Government here, are fled the Iland ; others were fined and bannshed but being neither authors, nor Cheife Actors, but only favorors found favor of my Lord when hee tooke the governm^{t} on himselfe, both for the Peace of the Iland and continuall of Trade from Holland and England. To which end an Agent is sent thither hence, to acquainte them with the passages there during these former Actions. My Lord (befreinded by happines and providence) most happily came in, to whome the true Subiect (glorying in their obedience) adressed themselves, and as their shouts, vollies, and flocking of all sorts of persons did testify they received him ioyfully & with welcome, though my Lord as not desirous, but refusing any medling in those distracted affaires, referred the Comannd of the Army then on foote to themselves, and

graunted them their former power, in all points, for three Months till the buisiness was setled. And now wee all live in peace and amity.[1] The provisions of this Country for victualls are sevrall, first of the roote of a tree called cassaui, comonly Cassadar, whereof bread is made in manner following. They grate the roote, press out the Juce thereof, which being raw is poison (but the Indians boile it with Guinea pepper, and make of it an excellent, and wholesome sauce), then they dry the grated roote, and bake it uppon a stone, or Iron, as they bake oate Cakes in England, which becomes a wholesome & well tasted food. Then Potato, which is the ordinary bread well knowne, and is in such abundance that it may bee tearmed at all times the Staffe and supporte, and in necessity the refuge of the Iland. Of their pottato they have drinke called mobby, which after they are boyled, are beaten to mash then strained wth water, through a bagg, and soe drunke, it will not last above one day. Of their Cassave, they make a drink called Parranow very good and strong, much like unto the best march beere in England. The cheife fudling they make in the Iland is Rumbullion, als Kill Divill, and this is made of Suggar cones distilled a hott hellish and terrible liquor. Wines are transported hither out of ffrance, Spaine, and the maderas, beere out of England, and Holland. Hogs, heere are some store, as alsoe, turkies and ducks, all which thrive exceeding well especially hoggs flesh, which relisheth almost with as good a smack, as our European Mutton. There are alsoe some quantitie of Cowes hens etc of Sheepe and goates. I cannot bragg of the abundance of fowles there bee divers kinds such as wee have in England, of fish many kinds, all not knowne

[1] This statement enables us to fix the date of the narrative as being probably between June, 1650, when the three months' suspension of Willoughby's jurisdiction terminated, and the Spring of 1651, when the Royalists began to expel the leading Parliament men from the island and arm themselves to resist the coming of the Commonwealth fleet under Sir George Ayscue. (Cf. *A briefe Relation of the late horrid Rebellion*, by Nicholas Forster, p. 110 *et seq.*, London, 1650.)

in Europ, but exceeding good and dainty. Of fruite there are sevrall kinds heere, platona potato, plumes of severall sorts, nutts of strang kinds, pricle apple, pricle peare, pins, etc. The platona is a very good fruite, it hangs in one greate cluster, on the tree, and when they are ripe, the tree is cutt downe, which being of a soft substance, is good meate for the hoggs, and out of the stump growes up an other in a shorte time, the fruit tastteh like an old pippin. The pricle peare is in tast like straw berries, claret wine, and a litle sugger. The excellency of the pine (the princes of all fruits whome nature hath adorred, with a faire knowne) I cannot express, for I boldly affirme that the world affordeth not the like fruite.

Comodities heere are of a good estimac̃on, Indigo, Suggar, Cotton, Wooll, ginger, tobacco, etc. all which are beneficiall to merchants and profitable to the Countries whether they are transported. It were too tedious at aske to describe the sevrall druggs heere found of Singuler use, as alsoe their way of trad, and exchang of making their Suggar, Indigo, etc., yet can I not forbeare to add a word or two for a wonderfull plant or litle tree. This plante or litle tree, is much like unto a Rose tree growing about halfe a yard in height, knowne heere by the name of the Sensible tree, because it is thought to have the Sence of feeling. Touch but a Leafe of the tree with your finger, that leafe will presently Shrinke, and close upp itselfe, and hang downe as if it were dead. Cut of a leafe with a paire of Sissors, then all the other leaves groweing on the same tree will instantly shrinke, and close upp themselves, as if they were withered, and within halfe a quarter of an hour, will by degrees open themselves againe, and florish as aforesaid. And as oft as you touch or cutt any they will doe the like, which whether it bee an invincible argument of Sence, I leave to the Philosip[rs] to determine.

The Caribee Ilands are soe called from their antient Inhabitants, which came from Gwiana, Caribana, Caribos note in the Indian language, strong, and violent men, they being the most Warlike nation of the West Indies, but cruell and man-eaters.

(v) "A LETTER FROM BARBADOS BY Y^E^ WAY OF HOLLAND CONCERNING Y^E^ CONDIC̃CON OF HONEST MEN THERE. 9 AUG. 1651."[1]

My most Honored and Loveing Father, my Love & duty remembred y^u^ since my Last. I have receiued one from you to my Brother Constant, dated y^e^ 2 June, but since my being here, I have rec^d^ but two letters from you, & but one from my Mother under y^e^ foot of y^t^ your first letter to mee; but neuer a one of any of my friends, & not so much as their remembrances. I hope you haue rec^d^ my seuerall letters. I have writ by most posts (?) of Dutch & English y^t^ are gone from hence. I doe much admire y^t^ noe ships are arived, neither in England nor Holland. By Symon Wallirsen, Jan Cilnten, & Frederick Atsen, I haue fully writ, & by whome would haue sent a good panfull of Sugar, & ginger, but was not p̃mitted to shipp any. But all my sugar was & is dayly taken from mee and alsuch as goe Under y^e^ name of an Independent. They

[1] This letter (*Tanner MSS.*, Bodleian, 54, ff. 153–4) is of interest and importance; for besides giving us an insight into the feelings of the Commonwealth party while under the domination of the Royalists in Barbados, it illustrates the close connection of the islanders with the traders of Holland. Indeed, it was this open trade with the foreigner which caused the injured London merchants to bring pressure upon Parliament to undertake the reduction of the rebellious island by armed force (cf. *Cal. Col.*, 1574–1660, p. 343). In reply to the Parliament's prohibition of all trade with alien countries, the Barbadians in their celebrated Declaration on February 18th, 1650, stated that they would "never be so unthankful to the Netherlands for their former help and assistance, as to deny or forbid them, or any other nation, the freedom of our harbours and the protection of our Laws." (Printed copy of the Declaration, *King's Pamphlets*, Brit. Mus. E. 644 (4).) Barbados largely owed her sudden prosperity to the trade facilities which had been provided by the Dutch during the period of the Civil War when England herself was not in a position to provide the necessary supplies.

had granted a Generall perdon or Rather Oblyvion, thorough y^e^ whole Yland ; & nowe since they haue made an Engagement for everyone to take it.[1] And some not takeing it, went away pryvately from y^e^ Yland.[2] This people, because they Could not Come to their desyre, they went & broke their act of oblivion, And Sequestred 52 Gallandt plantations, who are as much Werth as all y^e^ Yland besydes, & Lay Heavy taxations upon us dayly. All y^e^ Way they deseire to ruine us, they are ready by day or night to doe it. They have taken 25 of my Seruants & made Souldiers of them ; I am to pay every month for 8 men & a Half, besydes those 25 men, to every man 80 ℔ p̃ month, which is in all 1530 ℔ of sugar p̃ month. And for my Brother going without his ticket, I was fyned 5,000 lb of sugar more, which I was Constrained to pay Immediately after his going. Y^e^ Actors of this Voiolence are some of my Lords pryvie Counsselors ; as Major Biam,[3] L^t^ Collonell Modifordt,[4] L^t^ Coℓℓ Gye,[5] L^t^ Coℓℓ Ellis,

[1] The engagement was as follows : " We whose names are here under written do whilst we live in this Island mutually Covenant and Engage each with the other, and with the utmost hazard of our Persons and Estates, to maintain and defend the Person the Right Honourable the Lord Willoughby, acknowledged our Governor and Lord Lieutenant-General of the Consent and Approbation of the whole Island with all the Freedoms, Liberties and Priviledges justly belonging to the Lord Willoughby or us the Inhabitants thereof, as well concerning our Lawes, Religion, Persons and Estates within this Island ; as also our free Commerce and Trade both at home and abroad, in forreine parts, against all manner of Persons or nations whatsoever that shall attempt or Endeavour to Deprive us of the same." (*Tanner MSS.*, Bodleian, 56, f. 211.)

[2] This statement is corroborated by Colonel Ridge, Governor of St. Christophers, to the Earl of Carlisle, in which he reports the arrival there of Col. Middleton and others, who had been driven from Barbados " because they would not consent unto the engagem^t^ w^ch^ they doe impose upon all the Inhabitants ; and those w^ch^ doe refuse are brought to the Counsell of Warre and theire goods confiscated." (*Tanner MSS.* 54, f. 44.)

[3] For Byam's subsequent activities as Governor of the Surinam settlement in Guiana, see below.

[4] Colonel Thomas Modiford was not, as the writer states, a violent Royalist. After the arrival of Sir George Ayscue and the Parliament fleet, he compelled the Royalists to come to terms by going over to the enemy with his regiment. Being a cousin of General Monck, he obtained favour at the Restoration, was knighted, and displayed conspicuous ability as Governor of Jamaica.

[5] *i.e.*, Guy.

L^t^ Coll Gibb, & two others more. These men are as if y^e^ Divell had overpowered them ; indeed he hath possesd them ; their Wiell is extreame. These are y^e^ men that Cary y^e^ buissines, whether it pleaseth my Lord or noe ; and my Lord Can dare doe Nothing Without them.[1] Honored S^r^ all your State will Come to nothing y^t^ is seene, if you doe not make nor send even a letter of Atturney, to make me your Atturnie. For they take all to be my Brother Constants, though they know better : if you had done so 8 months agoe, I should have sent you a great parcell of sugar. When my Brother went of(f), hee gaue me ordre to send you 2000 of sugar, & 2000 to M^r^ Joseph Tyler. Hee gave mee an expresse ordre y^t^ I should send all what possible I Could. I had ordre of my Lord freely to ship 50,000 of sugar & 25,000 ℔ of ginger ; but as I was a shipping, y^e^ sugar & ginger was taken from me, by my Lords ordre ; (my Lord hath 4 in the Hundred of all Commodityes that are sent of). I was not permitted to ship, & yet notwithstanding was forced to pay for so much sugar and ginger as I had entered. One way or other they will haue all. As for y^e^ sugar they take from me and others, they say they doe but borrow it for a whyle, & wee shall haue it againe, which I pray God that they may speake y^e^ truth. Haue it againe wee shall neuer ; except y^e^ Parliat Shipps Come, & take y^e^ Yland by force. I Hope y^t^ they will not make any dylay, but come speedilye, & haue noe more Mercy of them, then they have of us.[2] Wee, who neuer gaue them Cause directly nor indirectly,

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[1] Lord Willoughby had made strenuous efforts to maintain a moderate policy and to conciliate the Commonwealth Parliament. But the menacing attitude of the latter played into the hands of the Walronds and the ultra-Royalists. (Cf. Intro., pp. xxxix–xlvii.)

[2] This letter was written on August 9th, 1651 ; Sir George Ayscue and his fleet arrived on October 15th. (*Tanner MSS.* 55, f. 79.) The expedition had been originally ordered by the Council of State on January 22nd (*Cal. Col.*, 1574–1660, p. 349), but had been delayed at the Scilly Isles, where the last resistance of the Royalists was broken. (*Commons Journal*, VI, p. 590.)

neither in word nor deed; but they on y^e^ Contrary, being too well knowne, haue & dayly doe, give too great an Attempt to their betters. I could hartily wish y^t^ you had sent a small Cargo for yourself in any of y^e^ Dutch Shipps; it would haue bene an exellent buissines. The Duch sell their Commodityes, after y^e^ rate at a penny for a pound of sugar. Browd & brimd, white or black hatts yeeld here 120 lb of sugar, & 140 lb & some 160 lb; Broune thred is at 36, or 40 lb of sugar a pound; thred stockens of 36 pence (?) will yeeld 40 lb of Sugar a paire; mens shoes 16 lb; new fashioned shoes 25 or 30 lb y^e^ paire; pinnes at great rates & much desyred; a man may haue for them what hee deseryeth; an Anchor of Brandewyn 300 ℔ of sugar, tuffted Holland at 16 or 20 of sugar; a yard of good whyted osenbridge linnen at 6 or 7 lb of sugar; Holland of 12 pence, if fyne, will yeeld, 12 or 14 lb of sugar a yard; & all Commodytyes are accordingly. But these abouesayd Commodytyes are at present good, & make speedy returnes: Cards are in great request, if good, & will yeeld 5 lb of sugar a pare. I Could wish y^t^ you had so much of theese Commodytyes as Come to two or three hundred pounds sterll. Of my Conscience (?) I thinke y^t^ you would make an East Indya Voyage,[1] & make free of Charges 3 for one. If you see any Convenience to send, y^t^ if any Duchman goeth for these parts, before y^e^ frygotts Come, send if possible you Can. Take up some Commodytyes upon bodemery (?) out & home againe. The Duch-men are made to be gone, & to make another Voyage, before y^e^ Comming of y^e^ frygotts. At a 100 gilders in Commodytys they make 2000 lb of sugar. Now doe you reckon what

[1] *i.e.*, a very profitable one. The high prices here quoted illustrate how seriously the stoppage of supplies from England had (despite trade with the Dutch) affected Barbados.

proffit there is to be had. Horses are, if poore 2400 of sugar a peece, & if in good Cause 3000 lb a peece. My Brother Nathaniel is not come from New England as yet. I haue not received any letters neither of him, nor of my Brother Constant, who went away on good freeday last. One y^{t} Came from Boston, in New England last, tould me y^{t} hee spoke with both my brothers there, & y^{t} my brother Nathaniel would Come p^{r} y^{e} next ship y^{t} Come for these parts. I wish to God hee may come, my greeve is unexpresseable, & y^{e} suddainesse of my Brother Constants departure hath Caused me infynetyfe troubles & sorrows, & (there) is more lost then a 1000 £ sterll; I wrote you formerly, y^{t} I had sent my Brother 4 patts of white sugar, & three more at Teriward (?). They were not sent, by negligence of o^{r} Storehouse-keeper; they are Come to two, the Commissary seeing 5 of them. By this bearer you are to receive two. Wee haue had noe potatos nor lymes by reason of y^{e} greate drote this 9 months. By John Moll (I) shall send you a barrell, & a quarter Caske with lymes & lymjouse. The Lyms will keepe very well in their owne jouse, & some ginger for my Mothers owne use. If I Can possible send some other fruit of this Country I shall, but they will not Carry. I will try. Y^{e} Abundance of my buissiness hath hindred the wryting to all my friends, which by y^{e} next I shall God willing. I would desyre my Mother to send me a sute of Cloaths, & a Hatt, or two, with two or three paires of shoes, some Holland-shirtts, if you are able. Thus takeing my leaue, & Committing you to Gods Gracious protection, desyreing to haue my duty remembered to my deare Mother & Grand Mother, my Love & kinde respects to my uncles Nathaniel, Arnold, Elyas, Elysha, & to my Aunts Lydya Thorp, Marey Pellham, Aunt Susanne, & in y^{e} first place to my Brothers & Sisters, and to the two littleones, who I desyre you to giue a kisse

for me. So I rest & Am your Loving Dutifull, but much p̃plexed Sonne.

(Signature erased.)[1]

Thur. $\frac{19}{9}$ August 1651.

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[1] Although the signature to this letter is erased, it seems very probable that the author was Giles Sylvester, a member of a prominent Puritan family in New England. Sylvester was a planter in Barbados who constantly corresponded with John Winthrop. In these letters he frequently refers to his brother Constant of New England (as does the writer of this epistle), and also to another brother named Nathaniel. He also criticizes Lord Willoughby's régime in the same manner as above. See letter from Giles Sylvester to John Winthrop, *Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 2nd Series, Vol. IV, p. 279. In a later letter he gives a valuable and detailed account of the trade relations existing between Barbados and New England. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 16.

§ II. THE VOYAGE OF SIR HENRY COLT.

"THE VOYAGE OF S^{R} HENRYE COLT KNIGHT TO Y^{E} ILANDS OF Y^{E} ANTILLEAS IN Y^{E} SHIPP CALLED Y^{E} *ALEXANDER* WHEROF WILLIAM BURCH WAS CAPTAYNE & ROBERT SHAPTON MASTER ACCOMPANED WTH DIUERS CAPTAYNES & GENTLEMEN OF NOTE."[1]

f. 1a. Vppon Sonday morninge y^{e} . 22 . May 1631 I arrived by poast to Waymouth wher Captayne Burch & others comminge vnto me we ther dined, & immediatley quitted y^{e} towne tooke our boat & went to our shipp then ridinge in Portland road. Now are we all mett, our Joy not to be expressed, for it is soe much y^{e} greater by how much y^{e} greatnesse of those Impediments y^{t} had formerly befalne vs caused not only a suspition, but rather an Impossibillitye to this happye Incounter; but aboord we are. Neyther doe we loose time, for we presently weigh Anchor, hoyse vpp our sayles, puttinge ourselues to sea, takinge our Course South South West, alongst our English Chanell. The first care of Captayne Burch is y^{e} fitting of his ordinance appoyntinge to these particular men y^{e} charge therof.

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[1] *Cambridge University Library MSS.*, Mm. 3, 9. This narrative is prefixed by a letter from Sir Henry Colt to his son George, dated from his tent at St. Christophers, August 13th, 1631.

In y^e^ Deck Captayne Burch
Robert Shapton Master

In y^e^ foorcastle. 2 peeces of ordinance ther Attendants
- Grimes boatson
- Goodin
- Monylex
- Snead

In y^e^ gunn roome two peeces of Ordinance y^e^ Attendance are *f. 1b.*
- John Comfort Gunner
- Addams Hounslye quartermaster

The starrboord quarter about y^e^ mast 3 peeces of ordinance ye Attendants
- Orpheus Duncane Masters mate
- Neale
- Grimes
- Grensteed
- Redwick

The starrboord quarter befoor y^e^ mast . 3 peeces of ordinance y^e^ Attendants
- Gosman gunners mate
- Oliuer
- Clotworthy

The Lard boord quarter about y^e^ mast 3 . peeces of ordinance, ther Attendants
- Henrye Tirrell Masters mate
- Dunstane
- Goodwin
- Wayett
- Rowndhye

Lard boord quarter afoor y^e^ mast 3 . peeces of ordinance, Attendants
- Nicholas quarter Master
- Selby
- Axdon

In y^e^ powder roome for y^e^ hold
- Peter Chawtred
- Hodgis, Thomas y^e^ Surgeon, & his boy.

boyes to fetch y^e^ cartregis chargers for powder
- Thomas Moor
- Joseph Wright.

And Captayne Whitlye a man well experienced in Sea affayres is left ouerseer of y^e^ whole.

The Ordinance thus assigned & placed, his next care is y^e^ defence of y^e^ Decks w^th^ all y^e^ other parts of y^e^ shipp. He repayres to vs alledgin y^t^ we hauinge soe many good men aboard, & soe many able commanders, y^t^ we would endeauour to make our men fitt to fight, y^t^ euerye man might know his place & quarter, y^t^ noe occasion might breed confusion. Wher vppon thus we conclude, y^t^ 60 musketteers of y^e^ ablest men should presently be chosen forth, & these to be deuided into 4 smale squadrons, vnder y^e^ command of these 4 Captaynes.

Captayne Pellam Commands . 15 . musketteers to gard y^e^ starrboord quarter before y^e^ mast.

Captayne Epps Commands . 15 . musketteers to gard y^e^ lard boord quarter befoor y^e^ mast.

Captayne Keatch Commands . 15 . musketteers to gard y^e^ starr boord quarter next y^e^ sterne.

Captayne Reyly Commands . 15 . musketteers to gard y^e^ lard boord quarter next y^e^ sterne.

. . . [1] deuisions are to be seconded; y^e^ one part from
f. 2a. y^e^ great Cabbin next y^e^ Sterne, y^e^ other for y^e^ foorcastle of y^e^ shipp. Thus stand we armed agaynst all opposers & Captayne Keatch is left sole mustar master of y^e^ whole. Being a man expert in those affayres, w^th^ great diligence & labour in few dayes practice (he) teacheth euery man y^e^ vse of those armes they are to serue w^th^. For many men of warr of Holland & from other places alreadye appears about y^e^ mouth of y^e^ English Channell. Our next care is y^e^ sparinge of our victuall, y^t^ we might spend w^th^ discretion. For although we haue sufficient, yett we consider y^e^ yeer far spent y^e^ Seas subiect to calmes, y^e^ voyage thether, & then back agayne, y^e^ stay for fraught vncertayne. Captayne Burch hauinge alreadye binn well acquaynted w^th^ y^e^ crosse blowes & checks of fortune, it behoues him now to stand well prouided agaynst them, for he it is y^t^

[1] A word or two torn away here.

must bear y^e^ hazard of all, for w^ch^ he presently putts vs to y^e^ allowance of euery Messe, makin noe difference between y^e^ highest & lowest in y^e^ shipps prouision. Euery man hath enough w^th^out wast, add we might w^th^ thanks, but lett noe man presume to take away w^th^out grudgin.

And m^r^ Beningfield my cheif ouerseer in all my affayres, seeinge we begann our wine at to high a pitch for our stoor, makes a dayly allowance both for our wine & hott waters for our Cabbin in such aboundance, as I am suer to be thus farr a true prophett y^t^ nott any man wilbe drunck all this Journye, except it be w^th^ cold water.

But now we come though last to y^e^ ordringe of our shipp towards y^e^ seruice of God from whose diuine power & prouidence, we must expect all our securitye & happinesse in this our voyage. Wonder not why this is placed last w^ch^ in all right should be first. In our religion we haue this Custome, first to dispossesse y^e^ minde of all worldly cares & vanityes, y^e^ better to appeare befoor him, w^ch^ one day must be our Judge. Consider but how y^e^ Angells of heauen tremble when they come befoor his presence. It then behoueth man much moor to fear, when he carryes his minde stuffed w^th^ Idle & vaine thoughts, & then to appear befoor soe great a maiestye, who is to be importuned w^th^ humble & deuout prayers, for he knoweth & Judgeth y^e^ very cogitations of our hearts. Our appoynted howres of prayers are . 10 . a clock in y^e^ foornoone, 4 a clock in y^e^ after noone, & 8 a clock at night, before y^e^ settinge of y^e^ watch. This was duly executed, & this was y^e^ ordre towards y^e^ seruice of Almighty God.

Butt behold by this time our sayles are filled w^th^ a prosperous gale at noor northeast, & we ply our course south west & by south. On tewesday morninge we *f. 2b.* equalled y^e^ Lisard, & befoor night lost all sight of land, crossinge ouer y^e^ large bay of Biscay. Weddensday, Thursday, Fryday, nothinge happens worth y^e^ notinge,

but ye same winde continues & we ye same course. Saturday 28 May early this morninge we discouer a smale bark just a head of vs. We bare vpp to know whatt they are, ye winde blowes strong at noor northeast, we soon approche & hale them we doe ; but ther is noe reply, nor man appears. But drawinge moor nearer, we make a greater noyse, at wch ye french awakes. For french they are but all a sleep ; a notable securitye, & negligence in yt nation, yt in a sea soe dangerous, in a winde soe contrary to them, & in such a season ther destiny should bringe them in a way so spacious, well nigh vnkindely to justle wth vs for sea roome, If by our Industry wch had least reason for it, had not preuented itt. But yet they gaue vs thanks for our Curtesye. This night brings vs a whart ye Cape of finis terre of portugall, & we finde ourselues in 42 degrees & 30 minutes of latitude running this last 24 howres aboue 154 miles. Thus ended we our first weeks trauayle, & ye first week of Gods most visible fauour towards vs after ye manifold crosses befalne vs in our settinge forth.

Our second week beginnes on whison sonday . 29 . May. On this day ye winde is at noor & by east, & we plyed our course southwest & by south.

Whison monday ye 30 . May, this day breaks vppon vs wth a smale rayne, yett doth nott ye winde shift, but growes lesse. On this day two shipps appear ye one in ye morninge, ye other towards night, but they seeinge vs altred ther course & moov towards ye north, & we tended ours southwest & by south.

Whison tewesday ye last of May, ye winde comes to east & by noor, butt we still fastned our course, steeringe south weast & by south.

Weddensday ye firste of June ye same winde ye same course is continued ; at noone our latitude brings vs to 40 degrees . 3 . minuts, & in ye westerne longitude from ye lizard in England . 7 . degrees. This day we runne

8. knotts a watch by ye logg, & towards night we abased out topp galant sayle for doubt of our blowinge. This night makes vs equall wth Corvo & Flores members of ye westerne Ilands of ye Terceras, but they bear weast of vs aboue. 160. leagues.

Thursday ye second of June we still steer southweast & by south, ye winde at noor northweast, in ye morninge we are enuironned wth porposes, & wth ye fishes called Grampuses, of colour blackish much bigger then two of our greatest bullocks of England, & they spout out water like to ye whale.

Fryday ye thirde of June ye winde playes ye niggard, & *f. 3a.* keeps back yt wch we wanted; ye like doth Saturday. Ye breath ye ayre gives vs, is noe other butt like ye languishinge motions of a dyinge man, & thus must end our second week, leauinge vs in ye latitude of 34 degrees & in ye westerne longitude aleuen. Vnto this howre not any man is sick; butt it happened other wise to our. 4. footed companions, for our water dogg, a hogg, a sheep & a lamb, being ye most part of our liuinge prouision dyes vppon ye way. Hetherto hath ye ayre binn coole enough, butt we haue lost two howres of ye sunnes light, & our water by reason of ye easye motion of our shipp doth now stinck hauinge noe time to work. This was ye greatest discommoditye we finde in all this journye.

Sonday ye third of June beginns, alsoe our third week. And bycause this day was a day of rest, weal soe rested agaynst our wills besett wth dead calmes. Monday, Tewesday, Weddensday will follow ye like example. Thursday ye 9th of June daylight appears wth clowds & fills vs moor wth hope then winde, yett are we in 32. degrees of latitude, & in ye heith of ye Madera Ilands. Butt fryday ye 10th of June will furnish vs wth better newes, for about one a clock this morninge ye winde yt hath forgotten vs, will now fill our sayles at noon & by weast, & we steer weast & by south. At noone we attayne

vnto . 30 . degrees of latitude . 1 . minute, & in . 14 . degrees 15 . minutes in ye westerne longitude from the lizard of England.

Saturday ye leuenth of June we are gentlye led along wth ye same winde, but our course alters to south south weast. At noone we finde our selves in ye latitude of . 28 . degrees, leauinge ye Canary Ilands of Africa east of vs aboue a 100 leagues. Heer we meet wth ye first flyinge fishes, one of wch our Catt catcheth & eats, all butt ye winges ; it is in colour & makinge iust like a smale little whitinge. And alsoe now appears ye Dolphins about ye bignesse of a salmon ; it takes what colour & splendour it pleaseth. Those wch I saw iust by me, wear of a bright azure colour, ye finns & crotchett of ye tayles of colour like gold. They swim soe swift as it was impossible to strike any, wch I would willingly had doone for I neuer saw any thinge yt pleased moor my sight. Thus is our third weeks trauayle brought to an end, wth out sweatinge one dropp, ye season cooler than in England, only moor hott in ye sunne, but ye ayre cooler.

Our . 4th . weeke begins Sonday ye . 12th . of June.

Vppon this day ye sunne enters ye Tropick of Cancer,
f. 3b. whether we direct our course, & are approched wthin 4. degrees. Heer cann ye sunne direct vs noe moor. Excuse me yu glorious starr, if I be compelled to write of others yt must supply thy place, for yu art now soe just ouer our head, in ye Tropick of Cancer, & in our zenith as thy shadow cannott giue vs our latitude, but ye north starr & las guardas for a time be our directors.

Monday & tewesday ye . 13th . & . 14th . of June our sayles comes home in curtesye to kisse our masts, for noe winde doth stirr, to make you bear further of.

Butt Weddensday ye . 15th . of June contends to recompence our former losse. Ye winde fills our sayles at east north east, & we steer south south weast. Towards

night we pass ye Tropick, & befoor midnight leaue it north of vs . 38 minutes.

Thursday ye . 16th . of June you must finde vs in ye Torrida Zona, an other part in ye worlds diuision, & we must leaue for a time to you ye people of ye North ye sunne in Cancer. At midnight this planett takes his course just vnder our feet, as it doth at Noone ouer our heads. Heer beginns ye first entrance into a long reach, wth a trade winde ; this makes our journy to be moor certayne. If winde at Noor northeast, we ply our course to southweast & by South. Thus runne we such a westerly course as scarce . 38 . leagues will raise vs a degree from North to South, butt we make all in longitudes from east to weast. Heer doe we meet wth ye first Tropick birds, In colour, winges, flyinge not vnlike our English swallowes but 4 . times bigger & some are white.

Fryday ye 17 June ye winde east northeast, our course is south-weast & by weast runninge 4 knotts . 5 . fadome a watch. Every knott is 4 miles, euery watch is . 4 . howres, every minute a mile. Ye measure is by ye logg, by ye knotts of a line, & by a half minute glasse, wch declares by ye knotts of ye line yt is throwne into ye sea whatt way we make in half a minute.

Saturday ye 18 of June concludes our 4th. week. Ye winde & course ye same, ye north starr & ye gards brings vs to ye latitude of 21 degrees . 10 . minutes & in ye weast longitude . 17 . degrees. Thus runne we still befoor ye winde, trauessinge these spacious seas weastward, to attayne vnto ye heith of ye scattered Ilands of Cabo verde, endeauouringe to leaue them east of vs aboue . 150 . leagues. Heer alsoe in my opinion our shipp growes to(o) light. I would haue had our emptye Caskes filled wth sea water ; but they would not doe it for spoylinge ther vessells. At sea, ye seamen must only gouerne, yett I must confesse, yt noe shipp yt went of England is able to equall ours, eyther in abillitye in good manners, & conditions for ye

f. 4a. quantitye of ther numbers, in sea men a thinge most rare to be found, if you consider ther quallitye & education.

Sunday ye 19th of June beginns our fift week.

On this day ye winde is at east northeast & we hasten our course southweast & by south. But on Monday we alter our course to weast south weast ; but now we must runne aboue . 52 . leagues to rayse one degree. Suerly ye Journye is great & further by a . 1000 . miles then euer I supposed itt to be, for although we swimm vppon a smooth sea all this time & just befoor ye winde & wth great swiftnesse yett we scarce rayse in . 24 . howres one degree.

Tewesday a Weddensday we hold ye same winde & ye same course, & now we come to 18 degrees of latitude, equallinge ye Ilands of Cabo verde.

Thursday . 23 . June, we steer ye same course wth ye same winde. Ye winde dayly encreaseth vppon vs, as we goe not lesse then . 60 . leagues euery 24 howres. We haue euery morning black & dark clouds towards ye east, yett no raine hath falne. This day brings vs to ye heith of St Christophers, yt is to . 17 . degrees & a half, leauinge itt on our starrboord side weast about . 300 . leagues ; & yett ye season is very fresh & coole. Fryday 24 June ye winde at large east northeast, & will still stick to our course weast southweast, ye skye cloudy wth a little rayne.

Saturday ye . 25 . of June will giue an end vnto our fift week, & leaue vs in . 16 . degrees of latitude, we keepinge our course weast southweast. In all this time we runne soe directly befoor ye winde yt our mayne sayle only drawes, ye foorsale, & sprightsayle affords vs little help. This made our shipp rowle ye moor, bycause ye seas driues continually vppon her sterne.

Sonday . 26 . June beginns our 6 weeks.

The winde on this day is large, & tends moor towards ye east, causinge all our sayles to draw, yt we make moor

then . 10 . leagues euery watch, soe y^t we attayne to y^e heith of . 15 . degrees . 14 . minutes, plyinge our course to south-weast & by weast. Heer y^e sunn riseth about . 5 . a clock in y^e morninge & setteth about . 7 . a clock at night.

Monday . 27 . June brings vs to . 14 . degrees . 10 . minutes.

Butt Tewesday y^e . 28 . of June bringes vs into y^e heith of all our Journy, y^t is into y^e latitude of . 13 . degrees & a half . 12 . minutes. And now we equall y^e Barbados bearinge Just weast vppon vs. But y^e longitude is now harder to finde. It is easy to know when our bodye is euen agaynst a house or a tree, butt how many paces exactly we haue thether itt is hard to tell. Butt suer we are it should be y^e first land we shall discouer since our settinge forth out of England if we finde it att all. This land is low, hard to finde & stands alone. Y^e last yeers example of y^e many shipps y^t missed itt doe well declare y^e difficultye therof. The Barbados may well admitt of *f. 4b.* this simile, to be like sixpence throwne downe vppon newmarkett heath, & you should command such a one to goe & finde itt out. For it lyes due weast from such a place . 13 . miles. Happy would your messenger be thought, if vppon y^e full carrier of a horse he comes just to y^e place assigned him & ther to finde it out. In this estate remayne we in. Butt lett vs hast to y^e proof. Y^e moone w^th her light fauours vs & we w^th all sayles vpp ply itt vp due weast, & for . 6 . howres we beat weast & by south, y^e other . 6 . howres full weast ; yett is nothinge discouered but y^e heauens. But our master, m^r Shapton w^th his harping Iron strikes vs a porpose, & if he had nott well fastened himself befoor hand to a roap, I think verily this fish had dragd him for company into y^e sea. For doubtlesse noe two hoggs vppon land haue soe much force, as this hogg fish haue att sea. But howsoeuer it proues excellent meat, exceedinge farr in tast & goodnesse those of Europe.

Weddensday . 29 . June. S^{t} Peters day y^{e} night proues windye & rayny, & we rann to much towards y^{e} north, for at noone we found ourselues in 13 degrees 19 minutes, for w^{ch} we steered weast & by south to bringe vs to our latitude agayne.

Thursday . 30 . June y^{e} winde at east & by noor & we steered weast & by south.

Fryday y^{e} first of July between two & three a clock in y^{e} morninge y^{e} masters boy from out of y^{e} foorcastle of y^{e} shipp calls out Land. Y^{e} moone shines bright, for y^{t} night they had played at cards & tables vppon y^{e} Decks, wth no other light. Butt now I could discouer nothinge els but a dark cloud ; & y^{e} worst of all is, y^{t} wth in this half howre y^{e} moone will hide herself, & leaue vs to darkenesse when we had most need of light. But resolued they are its land, but whatt land they know nott. It stands vs vppon now heedfully to look about vs, moor longin for daylight, then y^{e} woman wth childe for her good howre. Vppon y^{e} break of day y^{e} first thinge I could discouer is y^{t}, wth in lesse then a mile of vs, lyes a great ridge of white sands, intermixed wth rocks, vppon w^{ch} y^{e} sea doth break, & a league further of very low land, butt y^{e} Inland high & full of woods. By this time it was apparantly knowne to be y^{e} Barbados. We coasted y^{e} shoar on y^{e} east side of y^{e} Iland, w^{ch} stretcheth ittself into may points of land, & about a leuen a clock we came to an Anchor in . 13 . degrees . two minutes . ouer agaynst y^{e} white watch house, wher a platforme for ordinance is buylt, but not any mounted. Ther is one peece only w^{ch} lyes by her carriage.

Thus haue I brought our shipp to her Anchors in our desyred port in . 5 . weeks . 5 . days since our settinge forth from Waymouth, wth so fortunate a successe, as neyther
f. 5a. sicknesse, or any other distemprature for all this hott season of y^{e} yeer wth y^{e} danger of y^{e} Tropick, did att any time seaze vppon man, woman, or childe, hauing of this

sort very many. We weer soe gently ledd along, soe fauoured w^th^ windes & seas, y^t^ a London wherry w^th^out danger might haue borne vs company. I haue seen greater seas between Grauesend & London, then between London & y^e^ Barbados. Who cann w^th^out notable Ingratitude but carry this fauour & benefitt of thine oh God perpetually fixed in our hearts. Y^u^ alone art able to walke vppon y^e^ waues of y^e^ seas & giuest limitts to y^e^ waters therof, that by y^e^ testimony of our thankfullnesse all men may know whatt y^u^ hast binn to vs, to y^e^ glory & prayse of holy name for euer.

This Iland of y^e^ Barbados must stay vs. 13. dayes. I continually lay a shipp boord, & by cause my dayly vse is to obserue, & write somethinge, thus I write y^e^ trueth, but w^th^ fauour for I loue not to detract from such, wher I haue binn curteously vsed, & frendly visited; but I desyer you of y^e^ Barbados to pardon me if I doe somewhatt to(o) hardly touch y^e^ better sort of you. For I must speake generallye of all thinges, y^t^ I haue seen in this Iland, to make vpp my storye.

First you haue such aboundance of smale knatts by y^e^ sea shoare towards y^e^ sunn goinge downe y^t^ bite so as noe rest cann be had w^th^out fyers vnder your Hamaccas. You haue alsoe multitude of little black Aunts y^t^ hang in clusters about trees; you haue sildome any rayne, but 6. monethes in y^e^ year. We arrived in your winter monethes y^e^ sunne, being soe farr remoued from you into y^e^ Tropick of Cancer North. Your dayly showres of raine windes, & cloudy, sultry heat, declares it was y^e^ worst time of all y^e^ yeer. But S^t^ Christophers little differs from you, but only y^e^ dayly & violent stormes is ther moor frequent. You are all younge men, & of good desert, if you would but bridle y^e^ excesse of drinkinge, together w^th^ y^e^ quarelsome conditions of your fyery spiritts. You are deuourers vpp of hott waters & such good distillers therof,

y^t^ I am perswaded a shipp of good burthen laden therw^th^, could not returne from you butt in steed of hott water, you would fraught itt w^th^ cold. I, in y^e^ Imitation of this bad example of yours, & for your societye, was brought from . 2 . dramms of hott water a meale, to . 30 . & in few dayes if I had continued this acquayntance, I doe beleev I should haue binn brought to y^e^ encrease of . 60 . But y^e^ worst of all was your manifold quarrells. Your younge & hott bloods, should nott haue oyle added to encrease y^e^ flame, but rather cold water to quench it. As your quarrells haue slight beginningss, soe are they w^thout much difficultye soone ended, but only to y^e^ trouble of your gouernour who beinge but a younge man I haue
f. 5b. often wondred by myself alone, y^t^ he is not corrupted by you, but certaynly he is naturally enclined to modestye & temperance.[1] For in a few dayes you corrupted me, y^t^ haue seen moor, & liued many moor yeers to be moor wise & temperate. Your seruants alsoe you keep to Idly; they continually pestred our shipp w^thout any occasion or acquayntance, lingringe sometimes 24 howres w^th^ us, although noe man spooke to them, to avoyde labour, w^ch^ I am perswaded few of you looke after. For lett vs come to your plantations. Behold y^e^ ordre of them; first in . 10 . dayes trauayle about them, I neuer saw any man at work. Your grownd & plantations shewes whatt you are, they lye like y^e^ ruines of some village lately burned,—heer a great timber tree half burned, in an other place a rafter singed all black. Ther stands a stubb of a tree aboue two yeards high, all y^e^ earth couered black w^th^ cenders nothinge is cleer. What digged or weeded for beautye? All are bushes, & long grasse, all thinges carryinge y^e

[1] The writer takes a more favourable view of the character of Henry Hawley (who had superseded Sir William Tufton as Governor in June, 1630, and for whose judicial murder he was primarily responsible) than his arbitrary conduct in Barbados would seem to warrant.

face of a desolate & disorderly shew to ye beholder.[1] But you are all beholdinge to your climate, moor then to your soyle or Industry. For your soyle yt is naught, nothinge els but loose sand. Your grownd wch you esteeme ye best is but ye leaues & ashes of your trees. Digg but half a foot deep & ther wilbe found nothinge else but Clay. Your water is thick & not of ye best. Your vnder woods are not hard to be cleered, your great trees not many; but your riuers few or noone, except such as you account out of vaine glory riuers, beinge noe other then little pitts; or if it holds water but for a smale time it is named a riuer.

Yett for all this lett noe man Contemne you & yours. You might be all so happy, for you are able if you will to ayde and help all others. Now, doe but consider what you are owners of. Your ayre & soyle produceth wth a maruaylous swiftnesse. Whatt cann eyther ye earth or sea afford yt ye meanest man of you all might nott haue in aboundance? Add but to it your owne endeauourss. Your wheat is made perfect in . 3 . monethes; trees last yeer planted bears ye yeer followinge. You are furnished, wth figg trees, cotton trees, vines, oranges, lemmons, pomegranetts, plantaines, pines, Indian wheat red & white, ye tree cassain for bread, peace, beans, Guavas, a good fruit, Turkyes, peacocks, henns, wild hoggs, English hoggs, tame pigions, & wilde pigions, English cowes whose milk tasts better then in England, ye wilde prickly apple a pretty liuely tast, ye fruitt great rownd & green, & ye papawes yt carryes a leaf like ye figg tree but moor Jagged. Ye fruitt growes in clusters about ye bodye of ye tree not any of ye branches. Ye fruit is great but

[1] This scene of poverty and neglect was partly due to the fact that ever since the first settlement of the island in 1627, the planters had been handicapped by constant dissensions arising out of the dispute between the rival claimants, Sir William Courteen and the Earl of Carlisle, and also that in the previous year (1630) there "happen'd the great Scarcity, by Reason of the long preceeding Drought call'd the Starving Time." (*Some Memoirs of the First Settlement. . . . op. cit.*, p. 14.)

naught, full of carnells like to pepper of a smart bitinge tast. Ye bark is white & greenish. It is a tree of beautye & a good shadow. Your wild figg tree, ye fruit little & naught ; your little & great red pepper trees, ye best pepper in ye world. Then haue you great timber trees, ye mastick
f. 6a. tree, ye cedar tree whose leaf is like an ash, ye wood red ye bark whitish ye berrye stincks. Ye fustick tree ; ye tree yt bear bunches like green grapes but much bigger, ye leaf rownd thick & great, & ye silk cotton tree. Then haue you alsoe ratts, yt eat in tast like younge rabbitts ; but I eat not any yett. All your fruit carryes to(o) great stones to the proportions of their bignesse. Some are to sweet, some to waterish, few are good ; but ye potatos are ye best of all others. Ye sope berry[1] you haue to wash wth, like ye bullis of England, ye stone rownd, black, hard, like to a pistoll bullett. Your plantane is to sweet & dry ; ye pine of various tasts, most like vnto a great white ripe strawberrye. It is sweet sharp moyst, ye water million waterish & thawes in ye mouth like Ice wth noe other tast ; ye Guauas like a smale orange but red wthin, in tast like a ripe medlar, but moor sweet & moyst. Other fruit ther be some indifferent good, some deadly poyson, others wthout name. Ye Mancinillia[2] a poysonous apple like a little crabb in England, when they lye ripe vnder ye trees. Multitude of land Crabs of a pale yealowish colour, yt liues in holes like Conyes, & comes abroad a nights & will catch you by ye leggs. But they are nott good to eat. The leafs of most of ye trees are like ye bay tree leaf, but broader, & thicker & moor liver in touch. Some are like sedge as ye palmito tree, wch carryes his leaf like a ladyes skreen fann, or peacocks tayle, ye fruit like a cabbidge but better. The plantaine is a fine leaf wth diuers [fine] slender stringes, ye leaf . 2 . yeards long in fashion like a brake butt nott soe iagged, ye bark green,

[1] Soapberry, *Sapindus*.

[2] The Manchineal (*Hippomane Mancinelea*).

soft, smooth. You cutt ye tree vpp wth a knife, for itt endures nott aboue a yeer, & from ye root of ye tree springe vpp others. Your pine is low, leafed like a sedge, ye edges of them sett wth little teeth like a saw, on ye topp growes a braue tuft. Ye fruit like vnto a good great Cocumber but yealowish. Ye prickly pear yt carryes prikles like a thorne but much longer. Some trees ther bodyes are soe besett wth sharp & great pricks as it is impossible to clime vpp or touch them. Ther be alsoe cones to buyld wth gourds, musk millions. Ye white Cinamon tree hath a braue sent, but you make noe vse of it. Alsoe ther is ye clove tree, a little white flowre; it bears ye leaf like a bay leaf but bigger ye berry rownd & redd & in tast flowre & berry like ye Cloue. These two last mentioned trees I would haue distilled both leafs & berryes if I had time for ye tryall therof. Ther be alsoe Innumerable companyes of blackbirds, but lesser then ours & leane, turtle doues ther be great stoor, wth diuers sorts of birds, yt singe vs musick dayly into our shipp. The sea is alsoe well furnished wth fish & excellent places to fish in. Ther be alsoe many pellicanes yt liue vppon sea fish & breeds vppon trees. This foule hath a large throat great & of colour dunnish. Slowth & negligence must only cause this people to want, for to confesse truely all ye Ilands yt I have passed by & seen vnto this day, not any pleaseth me soe well. Would it weer my owne & thus seated in any part of Europe. I will nott say whatt *f. 6b.* I could be in short time, if ye princes of Europe by force or couetousnesse would not take it from me.

But now ye trade of Cotton fills them all with hope. I pray God send them good successe in ther way.[1] Ye whole Iland is soe full of wood & trees as I could not finde any

[1] For various deeds of sale, &c., illustrating the extent of cotton growing, which began to develop rapidly at this time, see The Davis Collection of Transcripts, Library of the Royal Colonial Institute, London.

place wher to trayne . 40 . musketteers in ye time of my stay ther in. The sixth of July Captayne Burch sends me half a turtle wth ye eggs. Ye eggs are rownd white soft, wthout a shell as bigg as a henns eggs ; ye fatt of ye fish of a dark yealow colour, ye flesh like yt of beef or veale. We presently stewed it bycause it will not last, ye tast is between fish & flesh of veale. I dare not say I like it nott, I haue so many yt will witnesse agaynst me to ye contrarye. Our henns eggs heer are very smale. This eueninge we caught soe many fishes wth our nett, as to euery messe in our shipp, we allowed . 4 . fishes. Some are like our land pikes, some like mulletts, other sea breams, wth diuers others of strange shapes. The sea men & others comminge in ye eueninge late from shoar, brings these scurvy flyes aboord to stinge vs, but they them selues be well bitten for ther long stay abroad.

Butt that which pinceth me most is ye negligence of ye gards in our shipp a nights. For Captayne Burch by lodgin a land, our mr alsoe many times a shoar, all ye principal men of ye shipp (are) att land & absent. Yett I finde our watch a nights carelesse & a sleep. They answeer me ther is noe danger ; I beleeue it alsoe it may be soe. But I know this happened one night. Ye mr of our shipp, ye spaniard, & an Ilander, in ye night went out to fish vnbeknowen to me. About two a clock they returne. I heard ye noyse of ther oars into my Cabbin ; I toke my pistoll & went out to know whatt they weer. Ye moone shines bright, & from ye Decks I might discouer ther boat at hand. I called out *Qui va là ?* Ye spaniard answeers whose voice I knew presently. I gaue him out a rope, he entred ye shipp, & I durst sware not any man was awake els but myself in ye shipp, or knew of his comminge aboord. In noe lesse securitye stands ye planters of ye Barbados on land. For lett me ask them, Wher are your court of gards ? Wher your assembly for armes ? Whatt places haue you of defence ? Wher cann you make head ?

Your houses beinge soe far distant y^e^ one from y^e^ other, y^t^ vppon a suddayne occasion you cannott vnite any strong forces to resist. Your Coast is easily to be landed on, to those y^t^ know itt. Doe nott rely to much vppon your currant at sea, butt thinke nothinge is impossible to stout & valiant men. Remember y^e^ late example of St. Christophers, y^e^ french fort sackt, burnt & y^e^ men slayne in lesse then one night.[1] Yett was y^t^ fort of moor strength then your whole Iland to w^th^stand a suddayne Inuasion. You are as neer neighbours to S^t^ Vincents, Matelino, Dominico, as St. Christophers is. Y^e^ furthest is not . 25 . leagues of, some lesse ; y^e^ men y^e^ same, & y^e^ most valiantest of all y^e^ Indian nation, y^t^ boorders vppon you. We receyue *f. 7a.* most losse from y^t^ ennemy, w^ch^ we suspect least. Despise not an ennemy, for he y^t^ doth soe, is nigh vnto his owne ruine. They are soonest ouerthrowne y^t^ neuer thought to be soe. I was fearfull to lodge w^th^in lesse than . 24 . howres sayle of an ennemy, w^th^out a better gard. Errors in warrs cann bear noe repentance, y^e^ first blow strikes it dead. Yett was I in greater securitye in our shipp, then you by all y^e^ forces you could make vppon y^e^ land. S^t^ Christophers cann lead you to a better example ; they liue like unto soldyers, ther court of gards appoynted them, ther centinells orderly placed. Noe man ther cann stir, or wander a nights ; yett are ther harbours moor secured by shippinge then yours. Ther gouernour knowes y^t^ a soldyer must aswell keep gards when an enemy is farr of, as when he is neer at hand.[2] Its but a childish excuse, to say I did not thinke it.

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[1] Referring to the sacking of St. Christophers by the Spaniards in 1629. (Cf. Narrative of John Hilton, above.)

[2] Similar precautions had been taken by Warner and the men of St. Christophers a few years before when an attack was expected from the Caribs. Capt. Smith states that so constant a guard was then maintained that from October, 1625, to August, 1626, all work on the plantations was abandoned. (*Capt. John Smith's Works*, ed. Arber, Chap. xxv.)

But now lett me a little wander from y^e^ land & tell you whatt I obserue a nights at sea. It is strange to vs in Europe y^t^ y^e^ moone changin of a Sonday, y^t^ y^e^ monday at night followinge she appears a great heith aboue y^e^ Horison. Neyther doth y^e^ sunne rise, & sett, as itt doth w^th^ vs in Europe. For att his risinge he giues vs smale warninge of his approche, by his glitteringe beames ; butt his hole bodye suddenly appears, agayne at night. In his descent it goeth not sloopinge downe as w^th^ vs, butt strikes right downe, & it is a wonder how this great bodye becomes so soone couered w^th^ y^e^ sea. The twilights by this reason are very short ; your dewes scarce any, by reason of y^e^ north & east windes. Stormes of winde & rayne blowe day & night w^th^ great violence.

Ther be alsoe in y^e^ firmament two conspicuous starrs y^t^ euer attends y^e^ north poole, called in Spanish las guardas thus fixed *, they be two degrees distant y^e^ one from y^e^ other : from these by our Instrument doe we take our latitude in y^e^ night. These are vsually . 14 . degrees aboue y^e^ north starr & these starrs belongs to y^e^ vrsa minor, as *Charles Wayne* belongs to *Vrsa Maior.*

Alsoe y^e^ South Poole is furnished w^th^ . 4 . bright shininge starrs, called y^e^ Crossiers thus fixed in y^e^ skye, but not seen in Europe * * directinge vs in y^e^ south latitude. Vppon these starrs doe sea men wholy depend. Ther is alsoe in y^e^ South y^e^ Scorpions Heart a long ridge of starrs, some of y^e^ first bignesse, others of y^e^ second bignesse, and some of y^e^ third bignesse, w^th^ a tayle turninge vpp like a serpent. Itt sides w^th^ y^e^ Crossiers, butt these be commonly aboue them, for y^e^ Crossiers are yett butt low, vntell we approche neerer vnto y^e^ South poole. Ther be alsoe two
f. 7b. very bright shininge starrs in y^e^ south sidinge w^th^ y^e^ scorpions heart, w^ch^ I take to be part of y^e^ Centaure. These two starrs are thus fixed * *, & starrs they be of

ye first bignesse. Ye North starr is . 52 . degrees high at parndon, butt her circle is butt two degrees descent. The Circle of ye Yards is . 13 . degrees in ther declination. You must take ye heith of all starrs, when they be iust vppon ther meridian, wch wilbe ther heith. Obserue them butt a little, & they will stand still when they come to ther heith, & presently decline ; & mark ther risinge & they will neuer stopp vntell they come to ther heith, wch wilbe due north, or south. And then they decline. Ye figures of ye Instrument declares ther declinations & heith, wth ye distance from ye Horison to ye starr.

The North starr or little Bear in heith equalleth ye Equinoctiall line & ye Crossiers in ye South is . 13 . degrees in heith aboue ye line, & is in place to ye South Poole, as ye North starr is to ye North Poole.

The Iland of ye Barbados is supposed to be noe less then 14 miles broad, & 40 long. Suerly ye Deuill ye spiritt of discord haue great power in America, & loose he is aswell amongst Christians as Infidells ; & wonder nott why ye naturalls warr soe much ye one wth ye other. Who is he yt cann liue long in quiett in these parts ? For all men are heer made subiect to ye power of this Infernall Spiritt. And fight they must, although it be wth ther owne frends. Ther be poysonous trees whose gumm hurteth ye eyes of such as hewes them downe, & diuers sorts of fruitt & trees nott yet knowne. The Locust is a great tree, ye fruit sweet bearinge a codd like a beane, ye bark white.

The sunne neuer freckles nor tannes ye skinn, except of such as works in ye heatt therof all day. Hetherto I neuer ware gloues, & yett my hands were neuer whiter.

Noe bodye lice will encrease beyond ye Tropick, but head lice will, & ye Itch & scratchinge cannott be auoyded.

Forty of ye planters seruants when I was now ther, stoll away in a Dutch pinnace although they cann liue in no place soewell.[1]

Monday ye 11 of July at . 10 . aclock Captayne Burch comes aboard. I importuned him to weigh anchor & remoue, for ye season was hott, & I was to much pestred wth ye Ilanders ; wch he Immediately performes & hoyseth vpp sayles. Yett could we nott free ourselues of these Idle visitors, therfoor we coasted ye Iland weast about 2 . leagues, & ther yt night we come to an anchor, ouer
f. 8a. agaynst ye gouernours house not farr from ye fort called Powells Fort. Next day ye gouernour came & dyned a shipp board wth vs. Ye afternoone was spent by some, in valiant exercises, accordinge to custome in drinkinge & quarrellinge. Next day—13 . July I must of force goe & land, except I should be to vnmannerly. To supper I am inuited, for supper I chused rather then dinner, bycause I determined to spend all ye first part of ye day in visitinge of ye plantations & dwellers therin, for it is ye last day of my stay, & I desyred to be better informed how they liued. Early therfoor in ye morninge I parted from our shipp & landed. Ye first thinge I went about was to search out a tree called Mangroue, whose rinde when it is dryed & beaten makes excellent match for shott. Passinge by ther corne, it was most part of it blasted ; I take itt bycause ther plantations are soe nigh ye sea shoar & by yt means made subiect to ye North & East windes, wch continuall blowes, & all lyes open wthout shelter. For ther plantations

[1] Indentured servants (*i.e.*, men or women who contracted to serve a planter for five or seven years in return for food and clothing, and a sum of money at the end of the term) were often treated with even greater brutality than negro slaves. Richard Ligon gives a vivid account of the daily routine and condition of these servants in Barbados. "If they complain they are beaten by an Overseer ; if they resist their time is doubled. I have seen an Overseer beat a Servant with a cane about the head till the blood has followed for an offence that is not worth the speaking of." (Ligon's *True and Exact Account of the Barbadoes*, p. 44, London, 1651.) Ligon adds that in later years (when white labour had become scarce) better treatment was accorded.

by reason of carriage & shippinge, cannott stand commodiously but by ye sea shoar. Yett by this, they make themselues weak, & discouered to an enemy. You had better buy horses, or bullocks for cariages.

I will only ayme to sett forth two of your most renowned plantations, allthough I was heartily welcome to all those yt I visited yt day. Ye first is called ye *Fort*, ye first yt was in ye Iland wher. Sr. William Tufton dyed.[1] Ye grownd is heer moor cleerer then any of ye rest, ye trees & plants of better groweth, & moor in numbre & in greater perfection then ye rest.

The second to this is ye last & ye newest of all, nott yett a yeer old wher Captaine Holdipp[2] hath his plantation. This man is ye beautye, hands, eyes, feet, of all other planters. He hath in one yeer yt wch any other hath, & alsoe moor then any other hath, yett not soe perfect Next yeer he wilbe worth ye lookinge on.

Mr Futter[3] wher I supped is noe lesse happy in his plantation, & shewes to be ye best husband of all ye rest in his prouision both at home, in his house & in ye

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[1] For the circumstances of Sir William Tufton's death, see Introduction, p. xxxiv.

[2] Colonel Holdip was the first to plant sugar in preference to tobacco in Barbados. He was thus the pioneer of an industry which has ever since been the chief source of wealth in that island. (See *Sloane MSS.* 3662, f. 60B.)

[3] During Hawley's governorship "Capt. Futter (was) Imprisoned 12 moneths for saying Mr. Read had a bastard, (and) stood a whole day in the Sun, enough to pierce his braine, and (was) fined 40,000 lb of Tobacco and Imprisoned till (it was) paid . . ." (*Rawlinson MSS.*, Bodleian, "C," 94, f. 5B.)

In later years Captain Futter again found himself in hot water; in a letter to Governor Bell (written *circa* 1647) urging him to abandon his policy of neutrality and submit to the Commonwealth, the Earl of Warwick wrote as follows:—"I am also troubled that Captain Futter should incurr the fault mencõned in yor letter and shall never countenance him or any man in those things which tend to the breach & scandall of good government, so much the less by how much such person hath a nearer relacõn to my service. I thank you for yor overture of favor towards him notwthstanding his censure, & pray continue yor respecte to him, hoping that the error proceeded from some soddaine assault of passion, & not from any resolved defecõn to peace or government . . ." (*Stowe MSS.*, Brit. Mus. 184, f. 125B.)

field. In his house to supper of his owne, we had piggs, capons, Turkeys, chickins, from ye field, Indian wheat, Cassaui, & Cabidges, whose stemme or stalk was . 200 . foot long & you must cutt them downe wth an ax. Wonder nott, for I speak wthin compasse & itt will proue to be true. When I toke my leaue of him, & thanked him, he told me & I beleeue it, yt this he could doe euery day in ye yeer. But I must aboord. Butt in our shipp we haue sprung a leake, & we fall to ye pomp euery watch, yt is euery forth howre.

Thursday ye 14th . of July by break of day we shott of a peece of ordinance to giue warninge to our men, *f. 8b.* yt weer dispersed in ye Iland to make hast & come aboord, & commanded all Ilanders to cleer our shipp. And then we fall to our Anchors ; butt it was strange yt we hauinge a stiff gale of winde at East noortheast soe fitt for our purpose, we weer vntell . 4 . aclock at night beatinge vpp & downe vppon tacks & boords vppon a flatt shoor full of rocks, befoor we could recouer our boats & vnmix ourselues from these people. Butt now we hoyse vpp all our sayles leauinge this land of discord, trauaylinge Noor norweast. Befoor dark night we loose sight of land.

Fryday . 15 . July before . 9 . aclock in ye morninge we discouer land, & it is Martinico. We steer noorweast & by Noor towards it, ye winde att East northeast wth a large gale. Ye land is high, & mountaynous all couered wth wood. All this day we coast this Iland on ye windeward side of it beinge ye Northeast side, wher ye wildest men inhabitt ; butt ye sea went soe high as we could nott trade. Neyther did we much care, for they will truck wth vs for nothing els butt for fruitt. Vppon ye north part of this Iland lyes a white rock nott farr from land, wch afarr of we tooke to be a sayle. And now we steer noorweast & by weast & at . 4 . aclock this day we see Dominica a head of vs norweast & by weast. Between these two Ilands we enter, hauinge Martinico on ye lard

boord side & Dominica on y^e^ starr boord side. Ther is alsoe nott far from Dominica an other little rock y^t^ appears like a shipp close by y^e^ land, butt it appears moor blacker then y^e^ other. This land is alsoe high land, & appears like many hills vppon a ridge of land all couered w^th^ woods. But heer doth night ouertake vs close by y^e^ shoars of Dominica, & we are to runne amongst all y^e^ Ilands. Y^e^ nights are dark, y^e^ moone sitts; butt suer I am our sea men will nott sleep, for they stand by ther sayles all night for doubt of suddayne gusts of windes, stormes & sometimes calmes, y^t^ these Ilands are vsually subiect to. And we bear vpp weast & by noor, but y^e^ most part of y^e^ night proues calme.

Saturday ye. 16^th^. July of about. 3. aclock in the morninge brise, att noor northeast beginns a little to fill our sayles, & we finde ourselues w^th^in lesse then. 2. leagues from y^e^ shoar of Dominica w^th^ a calme sea. I had promised my Cosen Thomas Gibbs an Hamacca. These people are thought to have y^e^ best. I desyred to truck, & to see ther manners, & whatt men they are. Att sunne risinge we shott of a peece of ordinance w^th^ a bullett towards y^e^ Iland to awake them, & to giue them notice of our beinge ther; butt noe naked men appears. They weer otherwaise busied as you shall presently vnderstand. Soe we helde on our course, noor & by weast. Y^e^ next Iland y^t^ offers itt *f. 9a.* self to our view is Todos los santos, a smale Iland makin shew of diuers hills alongst y^e^ Coast, & between these diuers Inletts of y^e^ sea deuidinge y^e^ Iland into many parts. We being past y^e^ point of this Iland, att y^e^ openinge of y^e^ two points of land of Todas los Santos & Guadalupe, w^ch^ was our next Iland close by, appearinge very high land and full of woods. We hauinge coasted all y^e^ former Ilands on y^e^ lee shoar noor & by weast leauinge them on our starrboord side, we weer nott yet come vnto this next point of land of Guadalupe, when behold this vnexpected accident had well nigh putt his period to

this my Journall & to my whole voyage. For about a 11 . a clock in y^e^ foornoone all y^e^ shipp beinge then att prayers, we heard y^e^ noyse of a peece of ordinance. We presently looke out wher ther is discerned two shipps in chase of vs w^ch^ had shott of this warninge peece to y^e^ residue of ther fleet, w^ch^ alsoe now appeared, beinge befoor couered from sight vnder y^e^ land of Dominica. Ther are aboue . 20 . sayle of great shipps moor all w^th^ swolne sayles in y^e^ persuit, to y^e^ ruine & destruction of y^e^ poor & distressed *Alexander*, all these hauinge y^e^ winde of vs. Butt we must runne for our liues, & yet resolue to fight. Y^e^ two first shipps must needs endanger vs, for they sayle passinge well & reach vs they will. Y^e^ rest I hope shall hardly come vpp. God make vs happy in y^e^ Incounter, but rather in our flight. For doubtlesse if these two first shipps doe entangle vs in sight of ther fleet, all y^e^ rest will come vpp, & then we are lost. Butt whatt they are we know nott. This danger breaks of our seruice towards God ; besides we neglect our dinner, although we know not wher to supp. Our shipp although she sayles well, yet are we moor laden then when we parted out of England ; for att y^e^ Barbados we had taken in fustick and Tobacco. Besides we are forced to make vse of a quarter winde to get cleer of y^e^ Ilands ; alsoe we had this Impediment, our long boat was dragged at our sterne, & we haue nott time to shipp itt. To cutt it of, would be a terrible losse vnto vs, to forsake a vessell soe necessarye vnto vs. Yett we resolue to reserue itt to y^e^ last extremitye ; & bycause it should nott to much dragg, we fitted her w^th^ a sayle, & a steerer, w^th^ 2 men, vntell we should come to fight. Thus we forsake y^e^ land & fly to sea, takinge our flight south southeast. And such speed we make, y^t^ befoor one aclock y^e^ bodye of ther fleet is lost, & out of sight ; they not willing to vnfasten themselues from y^e^ land & ther wateringe place, & to runne a Course soe farr downe y^e^ winde, knowinge y^e^ difficultye in beatinge of

itt vpp agayne, especially for ye purchase of soe poor a prise as one shipp. But ye two other shipps, still keepinge ye winde of vs, ouertaken vs they haue about . 4 . aclock. And now fight we must. We presently send vpp to ye mayne topp, to know what shipps moor weer in view, butt answeer is made nott any. Ye other two shipps doe ye like, & vpp they send to ther mayne topp, to see if any of ther fleet appeared to second them ; butt we could haue told them, they must fight itt out themselues. Vppon *f. 9b.* wch they pause, & to Counsell they goe, I supposed certaynly they would haue proceeded noe further, butt it proues otherwise. And by this time our colours we knew ech others, they to be Spaniards, we English. These two shipps weer broad & short carryinge large & great sayles, makin shew a farr, of shipps aboue . 400 . tunne, & passinge well they went. Butt att ther approche & perfect view they exceeded nott in bignesse ye burthen of . 200 . tunne a peece. These two shipps thus singled out, we resolue to vndertake ; & wthout any demonstration of fear euery man takes his place. For further we cannott passe wthout a combate ; besides our troups weer reenforced wth diuers passengers from ye Barbados all able men. And after I had bestowed two great bottles full of hott water amongst our men, we now turne head to Incounter those, from whom nott long befoor we fled from. The Spaniard wth no lesse desyer & readinesse hasteth on ye fight. The first shipp yt offers ye charge is ther greatest shipp, who presently approcheth wthin lesse then muskett shott, to our great disaduantage & nott one shott deliuered. For long befoor we could haue reached them wth our ordinance, but Captayne Burch by noe perswasions could be brought to beginn ye fight, wch alsoe I approued of. All ther ship was couered ouer wth canuas to hide ther men. Ours alsoe lay close nott to shew ther strength. Beinge come thus neer, we first hale them, butt they make noe reply ; but presently after one calls vnto vs wth a lowd

voyce sayinge, *Amayna pèrros, amayna pèrros, strike sayle doggs, strike sayle doggs.* After wch a whistle is giuen, & off goeth ther ordinance wch passed ouer our heads. For ye seas wrought very high, & some of our cordage is cutt a sunder. Butt they finde vs nott slack handed to answeer, for Mr Shapton our Master makes ye first shott from a sacre[1] very happily through ye bodye of ther shipp. Ye second takes ye foorsale close by ye mast; ye third shott passed vnder ther beak head, if ye bullett had arriued at her descent, as itt did when ye shipp was aloft yt had alsoe pierced her; ye fourth shott crosseth ther sterne, but fayled to hitt; ye fift ouershott & passeth throw ye shrowds; ye sixt went soe low as it grazed on ye waues & soe went ouer; ye seauenth shott ouer shoots. The Spanish Captayne at these shott scratcheth his head & his hatt falls ouer boord, wch he lost in this rash & bold attempt. Whatt els was doone or what shott passed, who can tell? For we are now all couered wth smoke. Butt ye first thinge I could see is yt they haue giuen ouer ye fight, & falne of to our sterne. For if ye winde had neuer soe little slaked or falne, this shipp could neuer haue gott of wthout being taken or sunck; for we had both agreed (although ennemyes) in this one point, yt was to come to boord. Butt it was euer in his choice, he euer keeping ye winde still of vs. Butt ye Spaniard pretended suddenly to surprise us & wthout speakinge; butt our men weer soe vnrulye, yt at ye playinge of ye ordinance
f. 10a. they would discouer themselues to see wher ye bulletts lighted. Besides they findinge them wthin distance of ther shott, could hardly be retayned from giuing them vollyes of shott, although not any appeared butt ye Captayne wth two or three moor. Ye shew of our men discouraged ye other shipp, soe instead of secondinge ye other, she falls of, & soe doeth ye first. And thus we parted;

[1] *i.e.*, saker, a type of cannon.

they still keepinge y^e^ winde of vs. Neyther durst we aduenture further, least y^e^ noyse of y^e^ fight might bringe vppon our necks y^e^ residue of ther fleet. Butt y^e^ greatest reason of all was, y^t^ we weer vnwillinge to proceed further into a quarrell, agaynst a nation w^ch^ I did hetherto loue and honour farr beyond any other in Europe. Butt we are content to leaue them y^t^ w^ch^ they aymed att, w^ch^ as we supposed was to driue us from our course, y^t^ we might nott giue Intelligence to S^t^ Christophers of ther beinge ther, or to S^t^ Martins wher y^e^ Hollanders ride at Anchor for salt. For water I suppose y^e^ Spaniards will be att Guadalupe; butt if y^e^ Spanish fleet had persued ther Journye to S^t^ Martins w^th^ y^t^ eagernesse as they chased vs, they had taken 48 sayle of Hollanders, all vnrigged, ther sayles ashoar, ther ships nott ballasteed, for they mean to ballast w^th^ salt. They are now prouiding to fortifye S^t^ Martins, a great preiudice doubtlesse to my lord of Carleil & a notable losse to all England. This might haue binn doone, w^th^ moor ease & lesse danger then by fightinge w^th^ vs, most of them beinge merchant shipps, & few men of warr, but all vnprouided to fight, w^th^ a notable losse to y^t^ people, & honour to themselves. For y^e^ fresh example of y^e^ Tortugas could nott but make them think we would nott be taken w^thout^ blood; for by report 15 English this summer weer ther taken, & hanged, w^th^ Tobacco in derision planted vnder ther dead feet.[1]

These two shipps doe still sayle w^th^ vs some part of y^e^ night, but how long we know nott, for next day morninge noe enemy appeared. And wher as this day early we should haue binn at S^t^ Christophers we know nott now when to reach itt, we are soe farr beaten from our course to the south south east. And this must be recouered full agaynst y^e^ windes mouth, all vppon tacks & boords w^th^ a strong currant alsoe beatinge agaynst vs. For this

[1] Cf. John Hilton's Narrative, footnote, p. 14 above.

seruice our shipp is impropre, beinge long & narrow; for verily perswaded I am, we shall neuer make . 5 . leagues of way in . 24 . howres. And suddenly we durst not returne, for fear of y^e^ Spanish fleet, nor to S^t^ Christophers for doubt y^t^ might be alsoe surprised. Thus remayne we at sea, Irresolute whatt to doe, desyringe butt any corner or place of land to anchor in, to hide ourselues for . 4 . or . 5 . dayes, vntell y^e^ coast weer cleerer or y^t^ we might know further newes.

Sonday . 17 . July. This day was spent in naylinge vpp Cabbins, & placinge of trunks; for all things was putt out of ordre in y^e^ cleeringe of our shipp for fight. I lost & (there) was broken many glasses in cases of hott waters, butt especially . 9 . great glasse bottles broke of y^e^ best
f. 10b. Canary wine of England, a losse irrecouerable & lamentable in such a season of sadnesse & misery; & alsoe a barrell of potatos was throwne ouer boord, w^ch^ we now wished for agayne. Thus we loose both our meat & drink. Yett thanks be to God for y^t^ w^ch^ is left, for we haue plentye of bread, meale beef, fish, wine, & water for many dayes. But y^e^ worst of all is we pomp w^th^ many strokes euery 2 . howres, wheras befoor we pomped but euery watch. Ye fight haue moor opened y^e^ leak of our shipp, by y^e^ shakinge of y^e^ Ordinance.

Monday . 18 . July. Ye winde noor nooreast, & we wander vpp & downe y^e^ Ocean Southeast. We doe discouer land butt reach it we cannott, but w^th^ our eyes; for we must beat itt vpp agaynst winde & Currant, w^ch^ was impossible for vs to doe. This morninge I was troubled w^th^ sad & melancolye dreams of y^e^ death of my best frends in England. I pray God nothinge be true in them, yett will they not vanish out of my memorye.

Tewesday . 19 . July. A storme of rayne, winde, lightninge, awakes vs about . 2 . aclock this morninge, but it continued not aboue one howre. Y^e^ hole day proues noe other musique, but gusts & stormes, causinge y^e^ waues

of ye sea to break clean ouer our shipp. About . 4 . aclock in ye eueninge from ye topp of our mayne mast we agayne discouer land, ye winde at noor northeast ; & we steer agaynst it north east. But by . 6 . aclock yt night we all knew itt to be ye vnfortunate land of Guadalupe from whence on Saturday last we weer beaten of. Butt now we labour in ye night to passe beyond itt & to steale by itt ; wthin . 5 . or . 6 . leagues of itt we are, puttinge out all our lights. And by morninge although ye Spanish fleet be now a wateringe at Guadalupe, we shall shelter ourselues vndiscouered in ye next Iland to itt called Montserrate 10 . leagues from St Christophers. This night we had great gusts of winde, some raine, much lightninge, & verye swolne seas.

Weddensday . 20 . July. We arriued att Montserrate, ye land high rownd montaynous & full of woods, wth noe Inhabitants ; yett weer ye footstepps seen of some naked men.

In these . 4 . dayes space I neuer felt soe moyst an ayre. All thinges rust, ye verye keyes in our pocketts rust, & a nights ye clothes of our backs in touch is moyst, & stiff. We are moor drowsye & sleepy then accustomed, & full of dreams. We would willingly haue beaten it further vpp vnto Antigo, beinge butt . 7 . leagues of, a place of moor securitye ; but yt there is no water ther.

We approchinge thus ye harbar of Montserrate, we send vpp to ye topp of our mayne mast to discouer harbour land & sea befoor we would lett fall our Anchors. All day we keep our watch vppon ye topp of ye mayne mast ; butt all beinge cleer we come to our Anchor on ye weast side of Montserratt, in sight of Rodunda our next Iland, beinge *f. 11a.* noe other then a single rock. Itt is high rownd & nothinge els but one stone.

In ye afternoone we take a new resolution, yt is suddenly to remoue, & in ye shuttinge in of ye eueninge, to gett to

y^e^ windward side of Mavis ;[1] & to send our long boat ashoar to gett some newes of y^e^ Spanish fleet ; & if they weer not now ther, then to shoot of . 2 . musketts : vppon w^ch^ we would draw neer, & meet them vppon y^e^ way, & make into y^e^ land ; and if y^e^ spaniards weer ther, to signifye itt by smoke or fyer & presently to gett into ther boat. If vppon our approche we weer discouered by y^e^ Spaniards beinge soe neer night, they could nott giue vs chase aboue two howres, in w^ch^ space we weer suer they could nott ouertake vs ; and in y^e^ night we had hope to loose them, beatinge itt vpp eyther to S^t^ Martins, or Antigo. Besides it was not likely if y^e^ Spaniards weer landed, they would deuide ther land forces from ther fleet at sea in times soe full of stormes & gusts. Thus onward we goe. God be our speed, for if we must venture better is itt today then to morrow. A dayes life cann hardly profitt any man y^t^ liues in doubt & misery. Death is better to happen once then to feare itt allwayes ; euen those y^t^ feare most must come vnto itt. Y^e^ whole life of man tends y^t^ way, y^t^ is to dye. Butt y^e^ best is we are come to our vsuall course, noor noorweast, y^e^ winde att noor noreast blowinge w^th^ a stiff gale ; & come we are to Rodunda, a rock half a mile in Compasse, y^e^ habitation only of a Company of great gray foules flyinge & wandringe about vs. This rock we coast Just by itt on y^e^ Lee shoar ; & Mavis appears a head of vs hauinge . 3 . or . 4 . hills, butt one high aboue y^e^ rest appearinge farr of, like y^e^ banquettinge house att Whitehall ouer y^e^ other buyldinges. Nott farr from y^e^ foot of this hill, ther is a hott bath. Y^e^ rest of y^e^ Iland shews to be flatt grownd butt all full of woods. About . 5 . aclock at night our long boat is sent of, w^th^ our quarter master w^th^ . 3 . pikes . 3 . musketts all sea men. I was vnwillinge at one clap to hazard soe many sea men, beinge our greatest strength ; butt on they goe

[1] *i.e.*, Nevis.

to view y^e road & shippinge att Mavis, & to gett some knowledge of y^e state of S^t Christophers. We remayne couered & sheltred vnder a high point of land of Mavis, y^t stretcheth itt self into y^e sea, vntell y^e returne of our men, or els expectinge y^e signes agreed vppon. We attend not long butt we might hear y^e report of our shott, y^e vndoubted token of our safety, and now we thrust in w^th all speed towards y^e road at Mavis. And att ye shuttinge in of y^e euening, we come to an Anchor between Mavis & S^t Christophers, wher y^e sea is nott aboue a league ouer. We presently shoot of(f) . 4 . peeces of Ordinance all laden w^th bulletts, & w^th all we send to y^e gouernour of Mavis[1] to stand vppon his gard & of y^e danger he was in, & y^t a watch might be sett vppon a high point of land y^t looks into y^e sea towards Guadalupe, & if any shippinge weer discouered to giue notice therof in y^e night by shott. *f. 11b.*

Alsoe one English shipp we found in y^e road to whom we sent to to stand prepared agaynst any occasion. Y^e like was doone to y^e Gouernour of S^t Christopher & to y^e French, & w^th all if they had any ordinance to mount them, soe as they might fauour vs at sea. Y^e Gouernour of S^t Christophers sends Dirrick w^th his pinnace to S^t Martins to y^e Hollanders, to make readye ther shipps, & to retyre to him if he weer assaulted. For we all still doubted y^t y^e Spanish fleet was yett wateringe at Guadalupe. The next day I thought to haue dined w^th y^e Gouernour [of] Mavis, & after dinner to haue seen y^e hott bath ther. But this suddayne accident broke of y^e dissigne, & putt vs to a further fear, & this it was. Y^e gouernour of Mavis vnderstandinge y^e danger he was in, assembles y^e Ilanders,

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[1] *i.e.*, Thomas Littleton, a merchant of London, who had supported the first settlement of Nevis, and who after the capture of that island by the Spaniards in 1629, had come out from England with a Commission from the Earl of Carlisle as Governor, to re-settle it. Shortly afterwards he undertook a voyage to Tortuga, in the course of which he died. (Cf. Hilton's narrative above; and also *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1623–1680, No. 238.)

& prepares for his defence. Butt he beinge aduertised to(o) late & wantinge men to furnish all places soe suddaynly, the houses & familyes of ye Ilanders standinge farr of one from ye other, & ye time to(o) short to send to euerye particular part, he as his readiest way giues volleys of shott to call his men togeether, forgettinge or nott regardinge ye ordre agreed vppon between vs, but only tending to his owne securitye. We hearinge ye shott take ye Alarme as ye vndoubted token of ye approche of ye Spanish fleet. Fear alsoe euer adds somethinge of his owne in dangers, for some swear they see ther lights att sea. Captayne Burch as he was in all dangers carefull & vigilant commands his Anchors to be weighed, although he was aduised by some to cutt ye Cables for hast. But he mindes nothinge lesse, & his sayles are orderly hoysed; for we did ride very dangerously by reason of a point of land yt stretcheth itself into ye sea, giuing opportunitye to ye Spaniards vndiscouered to approche soe neer, as we should be forced eyther to runne a grownd or els befoor we could gett to sea, we must come to ye shock of ther whole fleet. Soe yt now we sale towards ye road of St Christophers, wher we cann discouer further of, & finde moor libertye in all dangers to putt to sea.

f. 12a. Thursday 21 July. By break of day we had sayled by ye greatest part of St Christophers, & now we come to ye road by ye old fort. Captayne Baxter as we sayle along by ye shoar comes downe wth . 40 . shott, & giues vs diuers volleys for our welcome, & soe did many others whose plantations we passed by & we ye like to them.

The gouernour of St Christophers[1] prouides for ye defence of ye Iland, traynes his men, appoynts his Court of gards, setts forth his Centinells, & wth great care & diligence visitts them day & night.

[1] *i.e.*, Sir Thomas Warner.

Saturday ye 23 of July. Ye Hollanders returne a letter of thankfullnesse to ye gouernour of St Christophers for his aduise. For ther shipps weer vtterlye vnprouided to fight, as I have alreadye sett downe, all busied about ther ladinge of salt. Ye messenger had a riall of eight giuen him of euery shipp for his newes. They send vs this word yt they would very speedily be readye wth . 48 sayle of shipps to Joyne wth vs. We weer . 7 . good shipps att St Christophers road ; yt at ye Spaniards approche we should fall downe towards St Martins, & by shootinge of 3 . peeces of Ordinance ye Hollanders are to weigh ther Anchors, & to meet ye English vppon ye way & soe Joyntly to returne, & to take ye Spaniards when they weer most busied about ther landinge, & to fight wth ther shipps at sea whilst yt ther army was a land. These weer but braggs ; for ye Hollanders weer most marchant men & not aboue . 12 . men of warr ; forces to(o) weak to oppose ye Spanish fleet, whose numbre who could Judge ? Butt we saw enough, & to(o) many, for all ye forces we could make to wthstand them.

Certaynly I am perswaded St Christophers to be an enterprise of great difficulty to attempt. If ye men seruants who are ye greatest numbers could be brought to fight. For ye woods are thick, ye mountaynes & hills manye ; all ye water & springs comes from the hills & mountaynes & through ye woods, ye woods beinge cutt into paces & those fortifyed euery . 10 . scoor wth a little half moone one part to command ye other, & relieued wthout beinge discouered wch is easily doone. For ye water must be kept & fought for. I cannott see how an army cann peruayle wthout notable losse, for ther numbres shall rather doe them hurt then good. Besides ther ordinance *f. 12b.* beinge dragged wth ther britch forward, cann neuer be turned nor manadged in woods & paces to ye hurt of any. Butt these seruants of ye planters rather desyer ye Spaniards might come, yt by itt they might be freed,

then any willingnesse they shew to defend ther masters. Ther was two of these men y^t^ ridd vppon a wooden horse w^th^ weights of ther feet by y^e^ command of y^e^ Gouernour for words to y^e^ like effect. One of these I thank y^e^ gouernour I begd of him his pardon, although he deserued it nott. But one I thought was sufficient for an example.

Behold y^e^ cares, troubles, fears, & dangers y^e^ Spaniards have brought vs to. Itt cannott be butt y^e^ Kinge of Spayne beinge so great, soe noble & soe Just a prince will out of his royall disposition recompence in some sort these wrongs his subiects hath doone vs w^thout^ any cause or meritt of ours. Neyther haue we in all our liues offred any wrong to y^t^ nation. Haue we nott in y^e^ equitye of his cause in Flanders serued & ventured our liues vnder his ensignes, vppon our owne propre cost & charges w^thout^ receyuinge any pay or wages from him ?[1] Are not we Catholicks ? Why then might not this Kinge in recompence of this Iniurye gratiously to graunt vs for . 3 . yeers libertye & licence to trade in his dominions of America, w^th^ y^e^ same men & y^e^ same shipp, y^t^ y^e^ world might take notice of his goodnesse towards vs ; & we shall allwayes be readye to pray to y^e^ Almighty God, for y^e^ long prosperitye & happinesse of his Catholick maiestye.

Questionlesse this Incounter of y^e^ Spaniards haue reduced vs into a maruaylous perplexitye, w^th^ y^e^ Impossibillitye of euer attayninge to any land, vntell we should be driuen back to Virginia, to y^e^ ouerthrow & losse of our whole voyage. These considerations haue moued me w^th^ y^e^ rest y^t^ suffred w^th^ me, to write thus much, y^t^ y^e^ Embassadours of his Catholick Maiestye might take notice therof. For Iniuryes in words & actions strike to deep to be concealed in y^e^ heart, y^e

[1] *i.e.*, in the Thirty Years War, in which the forces of Spain and the Hapsburgs were endeavouring to re-assert the supremacy of the Roman Catholic system in Europe.

desyer of reuenge I know not whatt itt might work, if itt be put of by ye despayre in ye satisfaction. Lett noe man contemne my smale & weak forces, for I am suer they shall come armed wth ye Justnesse of ye cause. Better was it for them to reduce vs into our former amitye. We desyer noe moor than yt they would consent to amend yt by reason wch they haue now vniustly violated by force, and God who is most Just will reward such as be like vnto Him. This I would haue published & printed, yt I might know in whatt estate we stand in, whether ye two Kinges league & Amitye stretcheth itself byond ye Tropick, whether we might defend ourselues or offend ye opposer. I dare nott displease ye Kinge of England, for doubt yt at my returne he makes me shorter by ye head.[1] Yett I doubt nott butt he will excuse me, if I search for reparations of honour for ye Iniurious words I haue receyued, and alsoe satisfaction for ye outrage & damage I haue suffred. Some Hollanders alreadye haue offred themselues to be my associates, butt I doe nott much affect ther companye, except necessitye shall vrge me to itt. *f. 13a.*

25. July Monday, St James his day. We pitcht vpp a tent by ye seaside neer vnto ye old fort, & then landed our goods. All ye shoar is full of great stones yt itt endaungereth ye breakinge of a boat by ye risinge & beatinge of ye sea.

Tewesday 26. July towards night brings me a shoar wth all my Companye. We supt by moon light vppon a chest & lodged in our tent, placing out . 2 . Centinells for our gard to watch one howre & then to be relieued by two moor. I was not vsed to lodge on land. Ye squeakin of lisards & other thinges whose names I know nott, made

[1] In view of the political situation then obtaining in England, Charles I would certainly not have regarded hostile action against Spain with equanimity. The whole passage gives an interesting sidelight on the attitude of English Roman Catholics when brought into collision with the monopolistic claims of their co-religionists in the New World

me take smale rest, & alsoe ye ratts comes at first to visitt vs.

Weddensday . 27 . July. Ye next court of gard from ye old fort early in ye morninge comes to salute me wth a volly of shott for my welcome, & now I must giue ouer writinge & drinke wth them.

Butt now comes one of ye greatest labours & cares yt is for ye suddayne buyldinge of a house. Although I have chosen a scituation between two riuers, for water is to be prised aboue any thinge els, yett was ye place wonderfull discommodious. For timber we finde not any, palmito leaues for coueringe harder to be found ; so yt all things must be transported vppon ye shoulders of men, ye way from ye sea half a mile all vpp hill, ye grownd hard to cleer. Ye first thinge we Imploy is ye Axe, an Instrament yt must sett all others to work. It is worthy of Consideration whatt a smale vnthought of want driue
f. 13b. vs to wher we cannot borrow. We had forgott to bringe a helue out of England, ye want of wch keep vs all Idle half a day. We must saw a helue, riue itt, cutt itt, plaine itt. Ye wood (which) we must cut downe is ye pricklye tree hard & tough. This beinge doone we come to ye wood yt we must deale wth. Ye trees are butt smale, some hard some soft, butt ye withes of a nutt yt is green & rownd as bigg as a warden, carryinge a soft shell like a Chestnutt & . 3 . kernells in euery nutt, reasonable good in tast, giues vs ye greatest Impediments ; for ye withes of these runns vpp to ye topps of trees & then downe to ye bottome, running about like roaps soe entangle ye trees ye one wth ye other, as we could not deuide them wthout cuttinge downe . 4 . or . 5 . togeether. We weer alsoe seated amongst plantaines & sugar canes yt growes like ye reeds or canes in ye ponds of England, very sweet in tast, but vnholsome. Alsoe ther was planted Anotto, a low tree wth a codd wch opens, & little smale redd berryes appeare wher wth ye Indians colour themselues. This was antiently a plantation

of y^e^ Indians, butt now all ouergrowne. Butt I will leaue my buyldinge vntell itt comes to greater perfection, for stay I must at S^t^ Christophers all this winter vntell our shipp returne, & a pinnace is bought, y^t^ we might proceed to greater exploits. For rest we will nott, vntell we haue doone some thinges worthy of ourselues, or dye in y^e^ attempt therof, if God will preserue our shipp & pinnace to a second returne. For I goe next September to trade amongst y^e^ Indians vppon y^e^ Mayne, & you shall receyue a note from me for y^e^ materialls of trade w^ch^ I yett want.

from my tent at S^t^ Christophers this 13 of August 1631

HENRYE COLT.

And yett befoor I leaue of writinge I will a little speake comparitiuely of y^e^ Barbados & St. Christophers.

S^t^ Christophers plantations are much greater & somewhatt cleerer then y^e^ Barbados & generally better husbands.[1] For y^e^ fustick at y^e^ Barbados S^t^ Christophers hath Anotto ; Barbados hath these little bitinge Knatts S^t^ Christophers ratts, but good meat. The soyle of S^t^ Christophers is much better, causeth all thinges to be taller, & greater & carryes out all thinges better ; butt I take itt Barbados produceth all thinges sooner doubtlesse. S^t^ Christophers haue as good drinkers as y^e^ other, butt nott so manye, neyther soe quarrelsome. S^t^ Christophers *f. 11a.* is moor open & weak towards y^e^ sea then y^e^ Barbados, butt yett better garded. S^t^ Christophers hath nott soe many Idle people, although to many y^t^ wander about. For y^e^ little Aunts y^t^ eats ther seed and troubles your prouision ther is nott much difference. The Barbados exceeds S^t^ Christophers in wheat & potatos, & S^t^ Christophers excells y^e^ other in Tobacco & excellent water. S^t^ Christophers haue dayly stormes & rayne, y^e^ Barbados but six monethes in y^e^ yeer, therfoor moor fitter for

[1] *i.e.*, more profitable.

Cotton then S^{t} Christophers. They are both equall in y^{e} squeakinge of Lisards & other cryinge creatures a nights The Barbados haue better places for harbours, moor fish, & better fishinge then S^{t} Christophers. The Barbados hath moor wilde hoggs then S^{t} Christophers, butt ther lauish expences haue well nigh roated them all out. They vsually killed 1500 a week, a waste to(o) great to be continued. Lett them remember y^{t} when they went to hunt hoggs ther custome was when they had taken . 10 . or 12 . to binde them togeether, & to let them lye, & to proceed further to catch moor ; w^{ch} beinge doone, they would nott take y^{e} paynes to returne & fetch y^{e} first beinge to(o) farr out of ther way home butt left them soe tyed to starue. Alsoe euery man must have his hogg wth an allowance alsoe for ther doggs to eat. Butt this plentifull world of thers is now past. They needed nott haue made such a hasty distruction of them. I eat one of them baked in a pye at ther gouernours & it liked me soe well, as I durst sware ther fathers & predecessors y^{t} liued & dyed in England weer neuer fed dayly wth so good meat. Yett weer they farr better men, then you are.

S^{t} Christophers haue one wonder in itt, y^{e} Barbados nott any. S^{t} Christophers hath a hill or mountayne w^{ch} if you doe come neer, itt changeth y^{e} colour eyther of gold or siluer y^{t} is about you. I was in doubt a long time whether I might publish this rarietye to y^{e} Barbadians, least y^{e} passions of enuye or malice w^{ch} commonly gouerns y^{e} hearts of those y^{t} be neighbours & equalls in such thinges wher in any one excells y^{e} other, might induce them by y^{e} example of Mount Etna in Sicilia, to sett itt couertly on fyer, to y^{e} ruine & vndoinge of all y^{e} confininge plantations, & y^{e} defacinge of soe high & beautifull a mountayne. For vppon peeces of y^{e} brimstone taken from y^{e} mountaine my burninge glasse hath fyred readilye. Besides we haue Just by S^{t} Christophers, at Mavis, y^{e} hott bathe, whose excellencyes

& propertyes in ye Cure of all maladyes ye Barbadians themselues will confesse itt. My pen needs nott declare itt for I will leaue itt to them. I know they be so generous as they will publish nothing els butt ye trueth. God hath giuen me hetherto health soe as yett I haue made noe great tryall of itt. *f. 14b.*

. St. Christophers hath many naked Indians, & although ther bellyes be to great for ther proportions, yett itt shewes ye plentye of ye Iland in ye nourishinge of them.

St Christophers shewes moor valour in ther quarrells then ye Barbadians doe; for in lesse time of my beinge att St Christophers then at ye Barbados we had one man killed in fight, but they not any. The Corne of ye Barbados this yeer was burnt & blasted wth ye ayre, & yt att. St. Christophers eaten vpp wth ratts.

Now for ye fruitt vppon ye Iland of. St. Christophers it excells yt of ye Barbados.

Guavas a rownd fruitt like a little orange red wthin yealow wthout. You may eat skinn & all. It tasts like a mealan but moor moyst & sweet.

The Guiana is a kinde of serpent, & eats between flesh & fish. Ye eggs are best wth a thick skinn wthout a shell noe white in them; they make alsoe very good broth.

Pines are of various tast, butt most like a great white ripe strawberrye; itt is sweet, moyst, tart, in tast.

The muskmillions are good but ye most to(o) tough & dry.

The potatos makes good drink, cakes, broth.

Cassavi makes bread of noe tast. It is tough, & very hard when it is dry, & lookes white like chalk; itt makes goode puddinges. It is farr inferior to our English wheat.

Indian wheat makes bread heauy & tough; it makes good pottage, butt noe good bread.

Cassaui is a low tree, ye leaf of a dark green, ye tree full of Joynts. The prickle Apple a good moyst fruit. But ye prickle pear wthin as red as bloud, keep but your

fingers from ye prickinge & itt may be placed amongst ye best fruits of all.

All plantations must be by ye sea by reason of transportation from ye sea & to ye sea, butt much better weer horses, for by this our dwellings are discouered; ye entrance into ye Ilands made weak, & all plantations subiect to be lost at an ennemyes first landinge. Neyther cann they be defended, by reason they lye soe open to sea, as they are easily stroke from ye ordinance of ther shipps. Besides ye blasts & vapors yt come from sea are neyther good for Corn or Tobacco.

f. 15a. 12. August. Part of ye Holland fleet to ye numbre of 13 sayles came laden wth salt from St Martins to water at St Christophers, bycause ther is noe water butt brackish; a strange place to fortifye in wantinge this commoditye. Ye Gouernor of St Martins yt is now left behinde lodged att my house supt & dyned wth me. He is ye only temperate Hollander yt euer I saw, or heard of, & a man of good appearance. Butt it is well worthy ye obseruation, yt many of these Dutchmen beinge of Amsterdam & Enchinsen & shipps of ye burthen of 300 tunne should trauayle these remote parts wthout any munition of war as powder match, bullets or scarce a sword to defend themselues from such enemyes as they haue, only transported wth a blinde zeale & vayne superstition, doubtlesse moor then euer was commanded or obserued by ye Jewes. But this troubles one whatt to call itt, for such a religion was neuer read nor heard of amongst Christians vntell this present time. Certes we may well trust & putt our confidence to ye protection of God, yett He will haue some part of itt perfourmed by our owne endeauour. But I will leaue them to ther opinion, bycause I know itt nott. Would all of them weer such. For I must knitt vpp my discourse wth this sad & lamentable end wch concerns me moor, & is well worthy to be recorded in ye Historyes of these times for a perpetuall memory of

Him, y^t^ remoueth y^e^ very mountaynes out of ther places. And thus itt is.

Saturday y^e^ 13 of August, our shipp beinge att S^t^ Martins to take in salt, y^t^ morninge they had hung out ther sayles to dry. Towards 10. aclock they might perceyue a little black cloud to arise from y^e^ topp of a mountayne vnder w^ch^ our shipp did ride & already it begann to rayne & lighten w^th^ some thunder. Our men misdoubtinge y^e^ gusts of winds y^t^ vsually rayseth in these parts, vpp they runn to take in ther sayles. Butt behold this notable *f. 15b.* work of God. They beinge thus busied on y^e^ mayne topp & crosse yeards of ther mayn mast (for y^e^ sprights sayles & foor sayles weer alreadye furlde), when suddenly in one Instant & in y^e^ twincklinge of an eye a thunderclap & lightninge w^th^ a horrible noyse breaks vppon them. Five of them are strooke dead into y^e^ sea, y^e^ sixt falls downe dead into y^e^ shipp; Robert Shapton our marster stroke ouerboord by y^e^ shipps side, soe was our boatson, & these soor brused w^th^ this boysterous shock. But y^e^ boatsons brother was slayne out right, & soe weer y^e^ rest of our ablest mariners. But yett they crawled vpp vppon y^e^ [*sic.*] sides of y^e^ shipp, & so saued themselues. For noe man els could tend, or know wher they weer. Captayne Burch beinge vppon y^e^ decks was beaten downe & many others w^th^ him. And when they rise agayne all ther limmes & members fell a tremblinge for a long space. Four ploncks of our decks weer broken clean a sunder w^th^ great holes in them. Butt itt ends not thus; for our mayne top mast & sayle is torne to peeces & y^e^ sayle burned, & our mayne mast rent & shiuered, y^e^ sayle beinge furled; & thus back agayne it flyes w^th^ a most dreadfull noyse, & not one roap or cord in our shipp cutt. Our men beinge taken out of y^e^ sea had these marks, all y^e^ haire of ther beards & head weer burned of, ther head & braynes cleft asunder. Y^e^ very fishes of y^e^ sea had ther part; for they float alsoe dead about y^e^ ship, a strange & fearfull

accident. Butt whatt is strange or new to this great God aboue to whose will & power we must obey & submitt ourselues, & nott to pry or search to neer into y^e^ secretts of his decrees & ordinances, for who is he y^t^ cann finde them out? Yett did these Dutch men ride close by vs w^th^out any hurt or danger att all. Now for y^e^ men y^t^ are struck & aliue ther be . 4 . moor, butt in . 3 . ther is hope of recouery. Y^e^ forth is well vntell y^e^ howre comes wher in he was stroken & then he skrames out saying, Oh God I cann hold noe longer & thus he continues vntell he sleeps & then he recouers his former sences. His braynes I thinke is hurt by some fyrye vapours drawne in at his
f. 16a. mouth & nose. Captayne Burch is come to S^t^ Christophers to gett new men to bring his shipp thether, & to lade salt.

Thus you may behold sonne George in y^e^ space of lesse then 4 monethes as vppon a stage, y^e^ manifold troubles, cares, & dangers w^ch^ be y^e^ actors to y^e^ life of man, & represent themselues vnto vs in diuers formes. Butt I write nott this to discourage you, but to enable you, to bear all thinges patiently accordinge to these words of our armes, *Vincit qui patitur*. Remember y^t^ noe man dyes befoor his time, & care nott w^th^ whatt visage death come masked w^th^, itt cann but deuide y^e^ bodye from y^e^ soule. A little congealed flegme will serue to choke vs as well as y^e^ whole ocean.

Butt now I must proceed to an other trouble, but yett rather a matter of Jest, then danger. Vppon y^e^ sixteen of August, y^e^ gouernor of S^t^ Christophers sends a boat & men to fish for Turtle neer ye salt ponds w^ch^ y^e^ french claymes by diuision,[1] a right vnto. Y^e^ English beinge landed weer suddenly assaulted w^th^ . 7 . or . 8 . naked Indians paynted red, & feathers in ther heads. They shoot at

[1] According to the treaty between Warner and D'Esnambuc (1627), by which St. Christophers was divided between the two nations, the Salt Ponds (situated on a neck of land at the South end of the island) had been declared common property.

ye English & one is wounded wth an arrow in ye buttock as he was runninge away, but yett escapes, nor was ye arrow poysoned. Ye french are ye first yt takes ye Alarme. Seven or eight is made quickly . 800 . & . 10 . or . 12 piragas & boats to land them. Ye gouernor beinge wth me in ye morninge, we dyned togeether at Captayne Pellams. When these newes comes in, this breaks of all eatinge, he to take ordre for ye defence of ye Iland & ye findinge out of ye Indians, I to a house & land I haue bought at *Palmito Point* neerer by two miles wher ye Indians landed & neerer to ye French then my tent. For I left of buyldinge, & all my men weer ther busied at work in cleering of grownd for peace, potatos & wheat agaynst next years iourny. I left mr Butler & Roger to gard ye tent, being sufficient, for they haue a stronge court of gard wthin . 8 . scoor of them, for to retyre to ; & I went to my house wher I ment to stay all night. Towards shuttinge in of ye eueninge Captain Powell comes to me for . 3 . musketters, but I could nott spare soe many but a way I sent Peter Collings to him, & yt alsoe he should send me word if ther weer any danger I would be readye to come wth all ye rest, butt if they ment to giue a false Alarme I would nott stirr, bycause my men had laboured hard all day to cleer ye grownd for prouision. Besides in danger I could nott be left wth lesse then 12 musketteers for my gard, wch I knew would be sufficient agaynst all ye forces ye Indians could make, beinge free from ye woods as I was. After all our shott pikes, & targetts weer made ready & ye Centinells about our house sett forth, itt grew late wth much lightninge, & I went for a smale time to rest. Butt now lett vs consider a little of these Indians. *f. 16b.*

Ther haue passed aboue . 3 . dayes & nights in continuall search both by land & sea for these Indians. Not any is found or heard of, & yett we haue aboue 25 sayle of shipps wth ther shipp boats in our harbars, & yt soe many men should come on, & off, & neuer be discouered [seems strange].

Why should they not rather attempt Mauis, beinge neerer vnto them, & moor weak? Why haue they lost ther custome of shootinge poysoned arrowes? For suer we are they must be our deadly & immortall enemyes, of the Ilands of Dominica, Martinico, S^{t} Vincents or Guadalupe. Butt if my neighbours y^{e} French would pardon me, I could vtter my priuate opinion; butt howsoeuer out itt shall. Y^{e} French is a nation valiant, wittye, & politique. Whatt if some of you should stripp yourselues & colour your bodyes wth Anotto like y^{e} Indians wth ther bowes & arrowes & mix yourselues wth some other of those Indians your seruants to affright y^{e} English from ther fishinge of Turtle beinge soe nigh vnto you, & so commodious especially at this time of y^{e} yeer? This may be thus; for it is to(o) great an attempt for other Indians to come to Inuade an Iland so strongly garded by land & fortifyed by shippinge at sea. Whatt reason haue we otherwise to think y^{t} y^{e} ambition of these two nations y^{t} y^{e} sea cannott giue bound to in Europe butt they must sometimes looke ouer vppon one an others confines, should heer in America be limited wth pettve land marks? Nay y^{e} conclusion wilbe they must wrangle, quarrell, & in y^{e} end fight for y^{e} whole. From my tent at S^{t} Christophers 20. August.

HENRY COLT.

f. 17a. from America to Europe health.

Sonn George, I haue taken paynes day & night to Collect this Journall for you, bycause if you will proue a Seaman & vndertake such voyages, you may learne how to Imploy your time at sea, & who to thank for your conseruation. I have alsoe annexed some rules for your dyett & health in w^{ch} consisteth y^{e} whole performance of this Journy, y^{e} way being dangerous bycause of y^{e} change of Climates, especially about y^{e} Tropick. You must haue also some extraordinary prouision carryed wth you besides y^{e} ships

allowance, for y^t will nott serue you, w^th your furniture for your Cabbin all w^ch I haue sett downe.

This voyage is best made about y^e beginninge of Aprill, & returne about mid August, thus shall you auoyd y^e calmes of summer & y^e stormes of winter.

The Torrida zona or middle region is temperate enough, w^th an ayre fresh & coole, y^e brises & windes continually east & north, butt y^e sunn only hott. Y^e most dangerous place is y^e Tropick vnder w^ch you must past for pestilent feauours & Calentures, w^ch haue killed many in y^e hott season of y^e yeer. Our remedye was, soe soone as any one complayned of headache, we presently lett blood & ther was y^e end of y^t maladye. Your stomack is euer to be kept warme eyther w^th a cotton or wollen stomacher & neuer goe vnbuttoned after sweatinge, for y^e winde is cold, & your stomack must be kept warme. For disgestion & to auoyd y^e flux in w^ch consists y^e chefest danger, vse pepper in all your brothes & raysens of y^e sunn eat morninge & eueninge; it keeps you from thirst. Eat not much flesh, fruitt, or saltmeats; oat meale, peace, rice, wheat flowre, butter, & Holland chese your best dyett of all. A henn stewed w^th pepper & biscuit is good meat. Biscuit streeped in water 3 or 4 howres then boyled in y^t water add then to itt currants & pepper, then butter it. This is excellent meat. Brewise is good. Buy white biscuit to eat a morninges & puddings of wheat flowre mixed w^th raysins & buttered. [Take] Y^e sounds of cods water y^e night befoor & then boyle them; add to them hard eggs & butter, one of y^e best meats at sea. Froyses of wheat flowre is good.

Drinke a little Angelica water, or rosemary water befoor meals & sometimes after. This was our principall prouision & dyett. Lett not your shipp be pestred w^th men, especially your Cabbin & lett your shipp be cleane at your settinge forth.

Carry out noe sick man out w^th you least they dye & Infect others. Your best hott waters to carry w^th you *f. 17b.*

are rosemary water, Angelica water, Anneseed water, & for your men Aquauitæ. Wine will nott last long. All your barrells double Casked for y^e^ sea men els will deceyue you, & bringe lime w^th^ you to rubb your barrells mixed w^th^ water on land, for y^e^ wormes els will presently eat them. Cases of glasses are best, but they be moor subiect to be broken. M^r^ Wicks in black fryers beyond y^e^ play-house furnished vs w^th^ his best hott waters at 7^s^ y^e^ galon. Lett all thinges be well marked w^th^ your owne name. Aquauitæ 4^s^ a galon y^e^ best.

For your Cabbin prouide, napkins, tableclothes, a leather bed, a flock bed—your Hamaccas are naught, they are to cold, & you cannott turne yourself in them. I neuer vse any but a dayes, a chamber pott basen, a tanker or pott to drinke in, low course glasses of 2^d^ a peece, dishes, spones, trenchers, a stew pann, wax lights, a candlestick, mustard seed, oyle, vinegar, wine, Cheese, a pott of suitt, wheat meale a barrell, rice 20^lb^ weight, white biscuit 10 . weight, pepper, currants, sownds of Cods 100 powdred, 2^s^ eggs 300, raysens, henns.

for your bodye furniture.

3 or 4 suits of fine cloth Jerkins & hose noe doubletts, all suits els are vaine. 2 or . 3 . fine hatts & strong gray, & feathers, handkerchers to ware about your neck, few fallinge beds, your handkerchers fine 3 dosen, some course. Cassell sope to wash 30 . weight.

Shirts of 8^s^ a peece fine ones are not good, they must come but to your knees, for they be troublesome when they be long.

Pocketts in y^e^ sleeues of your Jerkins. They be better then in your hose & lesse subiect to sweat when y^e^ sleeues hang downe. All leather pocketts or doubletts are naught; they are euer moyst & will rott.

2 dousen of boothoose reasonable fine somewhat course best, w^th^ socks, 2 dosen of shoes russett all, black are naught they mould & grow red. Bringe buttons, needle, threed, Incle, black & white coloured, & some white,

6d. ribbins & of all colours & of diuers prises. Some fine sleeues for shirts, because you wear them out wth ye Jerkin & hose.

I will send you a note heerafte for ye prouision of ye field wch I shall heerafter want. Att ye returne of ye shipp I would haue 2 stout naggs & 2 mares sent of 5ti a peece. I care nott for ther paces, they are worth heer 30ti & alsoe two cowes. Ye wayes beginns heer to be good for ridinge & it is to laborious to trauayle a foot vppon hills & besides it easeth my men in cariage. I must haue *f. 18a.* two pack saddles, & ye rest saddles & bridles little & light. I want at least 40 men moor. I haue a great plantation, & I will keep yt afoot, although I goe for ye Mayne, bycause I know whatt by our shippinge, & in ye plantation, I will pay all men yt wch is due vnto them next yeer. I haue great need of men. For meat I shall haue sufficient. Your sword & dagger neyther hilt of gold or siluer, for it will rust & fall off. This of ye Spaniards I would haue printed or els published to all, yt ye Spaniards might take notice therof, yt I be not blamed heerafter if I seek my owne recompence. For next yeer I shall offend them. Captayne Pellam returnes wth my shipp wth others of your acquayntance. Our shipp is now gone. 14. leagues of(f) to St. Martins to lade salt, & I thinke she goeth to Holland & nott for England, wher Captayne Burch buyes me a pinnace of 30 or 40 tunne wth 6 peeces of ordinance to bringe me next yeer. But I doubt it will be late befoor he departs from hence for ye Tobacco is not ripe nor gathered, soe I beleeue it wilbe midd october vntell he getts of. Come in yt & bring 40 men at leaste for I mean to trade vnto ye Mayne & ye riuers to ye South line. We haue laded alreadye 100 tunne of salt & about 50 tunne of Fustick. We hope to haue 100,000 weight of Tobacco moor, wch by reason of ye Custome of 12d a lb in England we must putt of in Holland. This yeer must be chargeable vnto me by reason of this new

shippinge & victuall & transportation of moor men. Yett your mother she shoud haue mony to spend, & you if you come, monye to prouide for y^e^ Journy. I will send you by our shipp some fruitt as pines, plantanes, Guavas, prickle pear, prickle Apple, pepper. I doe them vpp in pitch. If they be nott ripe hang them vpp, & they will ripen as they hang. I would haue sent Jack a parrett but they be curst & bitinge. I will try agaynst our shipp returnes if I cann gett a little one. Condall shall haue 100^li^ to pay Tufton. George Kinsmill 20^li^, his mony was fortunate. I haue some of itt still to spend in Europe, for heer I want it nott. I will send Tobacco to Crane & Payne to sell. My sister Jane y^t^ ventures w^th^ me, & M^r^ Glouer 10^li^, & [as] for Baxters brother in Candish his brother shall relieue him. Remember me to all your brothers & sisters. Liue in Amitye, & y^e^ blessinge of God be alwayes readye to attend you. Farewell. From my tent at St. Christophers [13] 8 August 1631. Your mother I haue alreadye sent two letters; I will send noe moor vntell our shipp returnes, for I loue her nott.

M^rs^ Greens husband is sick & like to dye.

remember me to doctor Osberston.

HENRYE COLT.

f. 18b Captayne Burches wife writt to him of y^e^ death of my mother, her soule rest in heauen. He found me sad & melancholy for these accidents, & would nott tell me itt himself, but sent one to tell me soe much, after I had first pledged our health in wine. From my tent at S^t^ Christophers, 20 August 1631.

Your father HENRYE COLT.

you shall heer shortly of a mine of gold at S^t^ Christophers. I pray God it be soe.

To my sonne George Colt

give this

Que Dieu guarde.

§ III. ADMIRAL DE RUYTER'S RAID IN THE WEST INDIES.

(i) "AN ACCOUNT OF DE RUYTER'S BARBARITYES IN GUINEA IN 1664."

The Invoyce of the Perticulers of our voyage on y^e^ Coast of Africa.[1]

Wee were like to runne on shore on ye coast of Barbary 50 Leagues distant from ye Isle of Goury, but by Cap^t^ Reynolds fireing a gunn we scaped cleare and gott on ye 2^d^ day of October 1664 to ye Isle of Goury where wee found one Cap^t^ Stacy Gouernour, who mistrustinge wee bore false Coulors, kept us of by playinge of his greate shott at us, untill seuerall of our people had beene on shoare; which afterwards understandinge that wee were

[1] *Colonial Papers*, 1665, Public Record Office. C.O. 1/19, No. 55. The barbarities of De Ruyter were the outcome of a long and bitter feud between English and Dutch merchants. Prior to the Restoration the growing demand for black labour on the part of British West Indian planters had been partly met by private English traders (Cf. *H.M.C. Portland MSS.*, part 2, Vol. II), but still more by the Dutch. It was the realisation that Holland was rapidly acquiring a monopoly not only of this but of the entire carrying trade of the world, which caused the Government to pass the Navigation Act of 1663. In order to meet Dutch competition in the slave trade, the Royal African Company had been incorporated in 1660. But proving too weak to cope with the active hostility of the Dutch on the African Coast, this Company was in 1663 replaced by a larger and more powerful one. The savage behaviour of members of the Dutch West India Company gave rise to reprisals on the part of the English, in consequence of which De Ruyter was sent out to re-assert Dutch supremacy by driving out their rivals. The result was the Anglo-Dutch War of 1665–1667. The effectiveness of De Ruyter's methods may be gauged by the fact that the company's output of slaves in 1664 included many cargoes of "refuse" negroes which had to be sold at nominal prices, the districts whence the better type could be obtained being closed to the English. (Cf. The "Barbados Ledger" of the Royal African Company, T. 70/646, Public Record Office.) During the war the Company's supply of slaves almost ceased altogether.

ordered to come ther by his Highnesse ye Duke of Yorke,[1] hee immediately obeyed this order & saluted us. On ye sixth day we landed Capt St. George in a greate deale of pompe. This Island is a uery pretty Island about 3 miles round with two Castles on it, with a uery commodious harbour for shippinge. Wee were mounting of ye greate gunns and mendinge of ye breaches in ye forts that Capt Holmes made in it when hee tooke it, even then when ye De ruyter arriued with 13 sayle of shipps, which was on ye 11th day Followinge, demandinge ye Island and ye Companyes goods that was in ye ships; which the Captaines of our Shipps beinge unwillinge to grant, wee warped in as neare to ye Castles as wee could, resoluing all of them to Fight with them. But in ye Interim Capt Taylour goinge on board of Capt Reynolds ship, his ship beinge at a distance from ye rest, gaue order unto his mate to come as neare the rest of the shipps as hee could. But neglectinge of his Commanders orders, (he) stayed untill one of ye Ducth shipps had boarded them, commandinge our Capt on board of them, & forceinge them to accept of articles by surrendringe what goods they had of ye Royall Companyes. And on ye 27 Instant wee & they sett sayle together, but they outsaylinge of us went to Satalone where they disabled our Factoryes, leaueinge only a small parcell of Iron to maintanie our Factors untill they could gett some other releife. And in ye Interim the company belonginge to Capt Taylour's ship being most of them willinge to goe for England, desireing to saue theer owners the ship and prouisions, & expectinge noe wages, some eight of the officers write a paper of aduise to ye Commander to trade along ye coast, thinkinge

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[1] In his capacity of Lord High Admiral. "The Earl of Sandwich is abroad with a good strength to watch their [*i.e.*, the Dutch] motions nearer home; and the Duke of York is now preparing . . . to go himself and see the issue of the business." *H.M.C. Heathcote MSS.*, p. 168. (Letter to Sir Ed. Turner dated October 13th, 1664.)

to corrupt them with some of ye Companyes goods ; which he refuseinge, there bred a mutiny soe that wee did not sayle for 3 dayes, untill Cap^{t} Thornburgh and Cap^{t} Grigs came on board & pacified it. And then settinge sayle wee had uery contrary winds untill ye 26 of November & then wee arriued at Cape Mount ; and on ye 30 at Cape mount serat, & on y^{e} 3^{d} day of December wee arriued at Caestus, where is a conuenient place for woodinge & watringe as can be desired, haueinge a factory setled up ye riuer at ye Kings towne. The factors name is Bayly, who is a man uery fitt for that employment haueinge the blacks under such command, and if there was a castle built by ye Barr, as there is already a foundation laid, it would bee a uery conuenient place for trade. On ye 11 day of ye Instant wee sett sayle againe and on ye 20th wee arriued at Cape palmas. And on ye 23 day the De ruyter came up to us againe with his Fleete and commanded us to ye Castle De mine, where on the 25 wee came to an anchor at there factory, they commandinge us in with a Frigott. And they went against Tacarara wher wee had a castle, landinge greate store of men & stormeinge it, but were repulsed by those few english (which were not aboue tenn) and ye negroes to ye losse of some of their men. Which being much perplexed therat, they commanded 1000 negroes from their factory and burned the Negroes towne at ye aforesaid Tacarara, promisinge them greate rewards for euery Negroes heade they could bringe unto them. And afterwards they burnt the rest of the buildings and blew up the Castle, strippinge the english starke naked and brought them on board. And then wee weighed anchor and arriued at Commenda wher wee had a Factor preserued by the Negroes, the Dutch haueinge the Kings sonne of that place prisoner, and would not release him. On ye 29th the Deruyter and ye admirall of Africa saluted one another, and there hee tooke out those goods which were

f. 83b.

for the Douer Merchant and granted us our ship to carry us home. And thinkinge on New yeares day to sett saile on ye night before, theire arriued a shipp from Holland which brought them some news, (so) that on ye next morninge they made prize of some goods and shipps and dispersed us seuerally into theire shipps. And then they sent forth two frigotts and commanded Cap^{t} Thornburgh in prisoner,
f. 89. Likewise Cap^{t} Grigs, makinge on ye 2 day of January a narrow escape from them; most of our English that were taken entring themselues in the Dutch seruice. The rest they tooke to ye Castle De Mine. Wee expected Prince Ruperts comminge,[1] and the John Vincampins sendinge out euery day seuerall shipps a crusinge, they taxinge and imprisoninge Cap^{t} Giles Thornburgh and his cheife mate Rob. Knight for sendinge a letter of intelligence by a Canoe unto Cape Coast to our Factors there. And on ye 25 of January the Dutch set saile (wee beinge prisoners with them) and thought to haue gone to Cape Coast but went to lewerd of it unto Moree where they haue a Factory, where they tooke in some souldiers to helpe them against Cormantine where they prouided much for the Stormeinge of it. They thought it to haue gone that night, but ye next morninge they had 1000 of Negroes come from ye De mine to theire assistance; and the De Ruyter thinkinge with theere help & 700 of his men to haue landed, (they) were repulsed by one John Cabesse a negroe and his followers who lay in ambuscade for them, Anamabo beinge at ye same time blowne up & shot neuer a shott at them there, going on shore (with) about 40 Canoes. And (they) tooke downe ye Royall Companyes Colours.

Cormantine Fired some gunns but all dropped short, but onely one that did some execution, Killinge one Negro

[1] Rupert and his fleet were looking for De Ruyter. "As yet we ride upon the fore-horse, but we hear de Ruyter is stolen to Guynney with a design to do us some mischief . . . Prince Rupert is gone out with a strong party to see what they do there." *H.M.C. Heathcote MSS.*, p. 168, *op. cit.*

and spoilinge seuerall of their Canoes, which made them come back like bees to the hiue. And most of ye blacks went back againe, but they made an agreement with ye Fonteenes and ye rest of ye blacks giueinge them as it was saide 50000 peices of eight to assist them. On ye 27 day being Sunday they made ready to ours before day, where safely arriueing on ye shore and ye blacks meetinge of them, they drew up theire men in order and marched with 10000 towards Cormantine. About one of the clocke they went downe with three shipps to batter the castle, [and] about an hour after 3 more came to them, & ye De ruyter lay off with ye other shipps. The Dutch played about 150 shott, but ye castle fired few. Theire foote went all in a scattered order, which John Cabesse with his men fought and made good his retreate unto ye castle and fired still on them, the castle doinge little in its one defence. But John Cabesse gott into the Castle and fired at them, and when hee saw our English hunge out ye flagge of truce, hee cutt off one off his mens heade, and with his owne hanger cutt his owne throate. Ye Dutch upon theire onset reported that John Vincampin was come and fired a greate many gunnes on purpose to encourage theire men. The English they yeilded ye castle without any articles at all, but they gaue them quarter strippinge them naked. And that night they putt out ye *f. 89b.* prince of Orange's Coulors and blew up John Cabesses house. It appeared by that hee was more true to ye English then any of his mat[ies] subiects their, haueinge formerly preserued the castle from many dangers keepinge alwayes a stronge gaurd about them (and) intendinge to haue come and seene his Majestie in England, but only for feare of ye castle. There was greate rewards profered by ye Ducth agents to anyone that should bringe his [head][1] to them but hee was

[1] Omitted.

buried by ye blacks at old Cormantine. On ye 30 of Januarye De ruyter hanged out his Majesties Coulors with 5 of ye Royall Companyes Coulors which they had taken on ye coast, and then they brought a gentl. Syluan on board ye Ruyter and ye rest of ye prisoners were dispersed amongst ye other shipps. The Negroes were uery [tro][1]ublesome about the plunder of ye Castle, and killed one [of the ?][1] Dutch Captaines and some of theire men. The ducth g[ot][1] greate store of plunder, hanginge all the rigginge off their shipps with those goods they had taken : they left 80 men with a gouernour in ye castle The 2 day of February they weighed anchor and came to De mine, where they mustered theire men and found 49 wantinge heramongst the seamen and souldiers and made a fier ship of Cap[t] Thornburghs ship. They could not corrupt the Negroes at Cape coast, although they profered them greate store of gold and syluer. There was in ye castle of Cormantin a tried lump of gold in ye wall of 105 lb. weight which was brought aboard ye Deryter. And on ye 17 of February they tooke their leaues and set sayle towards the Barbadoes where on ye 19 of Aprill they espied ye Island about ten of ye clock, which made them call a concill of warre, and layed by till the next morninge intendinge t[o have][1] got in by breake of day. But ye winde faylinge, i[t was][1] eight of ye Clocke before the winde serued them. The De ruyter went in himselfe first, (and) did giue strict charge to euery one of ye fleete to follow and gaue a braue onset. But our shipps there beinge ready for them paid them off as well as may bee, which forced the Deryter to come to anchor out off shott, and called a councill of warre. And in ye eveninge he departed and went downe to Martileno[2] where he left his prisoners.

[1] Missing.

[2] *i.e.*, Martinique. While staying at this island to revictual, De Ruyter wrote home to his wife, telling her that nine men had been killed and twenty-two wounded on board his own ship during the attack on Barbados. (*H.M.C. Heathcote MSS.*, p. 200, August, 1665.)

(ii) "A TRUE RELACION OF THE FIGHT AT THE BARBADOS BETWEEN THE FORTS AND SHIPPING THERE OF THE ENGLISH AND DE RUYTER ADMIRALL OF THE DUTCH, THE 20th OF APRILL 1665. OBSERUED BY THE MASTER OF THE KETCH "HOPEWELL" (BOUND FOR BRISTOLL) WHO WAS THEN RIDEING THE OUT MOST VESSELL OF THE WHOLE ENGLISH FLEETE AND TOOKE PARTICULER NOTICE OF THE WHOLE TRANSACION."[1] *f. 77.*

1. Aboute 6 of the Clock in the Morneing, there was a report of De Ruyters coming, and about 10 of the clock wee Saw him with his whole Fleete which consisted of 14 Sayle. And when hee came by the Fort hee did not fire one gunn vntill hee came at the *Gifts* Sterne. Then hee fired a whole volly of small shott and his broade side, and soe did all the rest. Then the Fort and Shipping fired at him and they shot away all his foresayle. And the Vice admirall lost his mayne yard and two other lost theyre Topsayles.

1 a clock. 2. De Ruyter stayed, and in Staying, wee shot downe his mayne yeard, and made one of them lie on the careene to stop her leakes.

2 oclock. 3. De Ruyter fired his broade side agayne and six of the rest, and wee did make two of them lie on the Careen to stop theyre leakes, and wee damnified theyre sayles very much.

1 oclock. 4. De Ruyter stayed agayne, and hee could hardly wend cleare of the Shippe *Allen of Poole*, and then hee was not soe farr from mee as twice the Length of his Shippe. I did see him on the poope, with a cane in one hand, and a cuttle axe in the other, and as he stayed I did see most part of his quarter carried away.

2 a/clock. 5. After de Ruyter was trimed agayne, hee did fire his broade side and soe did the rest of the Fleete.

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[1] *Col. Papers*, Public Record Office, C.O. 1/19, No. 50.

6. Our shipps shott agayne at de Ruyter, and shot one of his boates at his Sterne and Sunck her. Alsoe, wee did rend one of the rear admiralls mayne sayles out of the roapes, and did place 3 shotts in one of the Vice Admiralls, and layd him all on one Side, with which I doe beleive hee had much Water in his hould.

3 a clock. 7. I did see all de Ruyters Sterne to be carried in, that it was soe wide as a barnes doare; and after that Shott, they did not fire any more, for I doe suppose de Ruyter was then killed.

f. 77b. 4 a clock. 8. After this De Ruyters shippe did bare vp and came to an Ancker and all his Fleete, and they did take doune all theyre red cullers and put vp blew, and then they did all repayre on board de Ruyters shippe as I suppose to hould a Councell of Warr.

5 a clock. 9. They did ride the Space of an houre, and then they weighed Ancker and did bare before the wind, and when they weare of(f) they did lie and mend theyre Sayles. I saw foure of them lie on the Careene and stop theyre leakes.

6 a clock. 10. They went away in the confusedst manner that possible could bee. Three dayes after wee did heare they weare at Martineca.

f. 159. (iii) A LETTER FROM GEORGE CARTWRIGHT TO COL. NICOLLS. BOSTON. 5 JUNE 1665.[1]

Dear Sir,

A gentl. of Boston (Mr. Winslow) came lately from Barbados, & sayes that, whilst he was there, on the 20th Aprill Ruiter & 14 sayle of ships came thither & shott 500 great shot into the toun, yet kild only one negroe, on christian & a dogge; and that they took up some bulletts of 30lb weight, & that there were 27 ships loaden with sugar for England, one of the Guyny-company of 40

[1] *Col. Papers*, Public Record Office, C.O. 1/19, No. 73.

gunns & as many more as made up 40 ships in all, amongst whom Cap[t] Scarlet of this town had his ship shot through & through. The Dutch did much hurt amongst the ships, but not being able to gain the wind, could take none of them away; 2 of the 14 with the dutch were known to have been belonginge to the royall company & probably taken from the coast of Guyny by them. They went from Barbados to the lee-ward islands and what they will do I cannot imagine.[1] I did think that they had been returned home, but hearing this from an eye-witnesse I thought it necessary to lett you see my goodwill by this, though I hope you may have heard the same before.

The same certainty we have of 6 shipps and 1500 men in them going from Jamaca to take in Quirassau, only they are gone to victuall themselves with tortoises, leaving no other conviences to doe it, which I hope may make them so late, that the Dutch fleet may begine before they come. By M[r] Winder I send you the papers you mention'd, but this I hope may come a lettle sooner. That God would both preserue and prosper you is the earnest prayer of, S[r],

Your most affectionate
& humble servant
GEORGE CARTWRIGHT.

Boston,
June 5,
1665.

Cap[t] Nicolls.

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[1] At the Leeward Islands, De Ruyter met with better fortune, for at Nevis and Montserrat he succeeded in capturing sixteen vessels. The Governors of those islands, which were in a very weak state, thereupon besought Lord Willoughby to furnish them with fresh supplies of powder in case of a second attack. But the latter was unable to comply, as the stock in Barbados itself was almost exhausted, thirty-three barrels of powder having been expended in repelling De Ruyter. Willoughby therefore repeated his previous protests to the King against the failure of the Government to provide an adequate supply. "What cann ye Gunns doe without Powder?" he pertinently asks, ". . . for if in case another De Rutter come, or any other Men of Warr as you are pleased to aduise, Our little Stocke of powder will bee soone blowne away . . ." (C.O. 1/19, No. 60, Public Record Office.)

f. 81. (iv) HENRY WILLOUGHBY, DEPUTY GOVERNOR, TO SEC. BENNETT, [LORD ARLINGTON]. 22 APRIL, 1665.[1]

Barbados. Aprill 22th 1665.

Sr,

In the absence of his Excellency the Lord Willoughby, His affaires calling him to Surrenam, where hee hath mett with some vnhappie obstructions, causing his absence of longer tyme then was expected, I received his Majesties letter by your Covert bearing date ye 2d of February last, His Lordshipp having been pleased to intrust mee with the Government of this Island till his returne which we now every day expect. According to his Majesties Comands I have vsed my greatest care & Dilligence in the performance thereof by ordering the shipps into such a posture as might be most [convenient ?] for theire Defence, by repaireing the Forts that lye most offensive to the Enemy, by causeing a general muster to be made of all our Forces both horse & foote, with stryct order vnder penalty to fix all disordred Armes by such a day, (and) putting them in expectation of an Enemy prepared to assault them with sufficient strength & malice answerable. I alsoe ordered a watch to be sett att an eminent place for the early discovery of any shipps that might come in sight of the Island ; all which was happily effected, and our men in a very good readinesse. The twentyeth instant we received notice from ye said Watch, of fowerteene saile of shipps in sight at a farr distance, which happie discouery gave us good tyme of preparacion. About the hower of nyne the Fleet came fairely vpp with our mayne Fort, at the entrance of our Roade haveing before
f. 81b. Devided themselves into two squadrons, the Admirall leading the way as neare the Fort as we suppose her burthen would admitt. From whence shee received severall shott, but returned not any fire till faire within the Roade & then distributed his shott very plentifully,

[1] *Col. Papers*, Public Record Office, C.O. 1/19, No. 51.

as soe did all the rest the Forts & shipps returning the same kindnesse according as they had advantage for about three howers. After which the Dutch Fleet sheard off & came to anchor out of shott of our Gunns, where haveing lyen about two howers & taken Councell they all Sayled away Leward directly to sea & Cleared the land before Darke. In this engagement Gods Providence was soe great, that both at sea & shore wee lost but three men, & some few wounded, I thinke not aboue ten,[1] & of this mercy I thought it very necessary speedily to give advice to his Majestie which I entreate you will please to doe; And is alsoe to prevent idle reports, haueing received knowledge that dureing our engagement with the Dutch, a Fleete, that lay some fower leagues Leward of this harbour Slipp'd away, they haueing received ill tidings by some stragler that had not courage enough to see the truth. I doe alsoe desire that it may be putt into his Majesties thoughts to suply this Island with halfe a score gunns larger then at present we haue, as whole Culverin, Saker & Demy Cannon for in the Judgement of most they did receive greate Damage by our Shott, but if our Gunns had beene better, some of them had never gon off; for this *f. 82.* soe greate a Blessing, wee haue reason to bee thanke-full to God. And I shall make it my greate care to put the Island into such a posture of defence, & the people in such readinesse as they may be able when further occasion shall present, to receive the Enemy with resolution. My Judgement is (that) the Speedy Knowledge of this affare to his Majestie may bee of soe much consequence, that I have, though with some cost, sent this small Friggott with the Intelligence & have not further to trouble you so conclude,

Sir,

Your Most humble seruant,

HENRY WILLOUGHBY.

[Endorsed]. For the Hono^ble^ S^r^ Henry Bennett.

[1] Père du Tertre (*Histoire Générale des Antilles III*, pp. 197–200) exaggerates the damage done both at Barbados and at Nevis and Montserrat.

§ IV. TOBAGO AND TRINIDAD.

f. 47b. (i) THE DISCRIPTION OF TOBAGO.[1]

It is an Island scituate between Barbados and Trinidada. These three Isles are in theire Scituation the Front of the Careebs. It is distant from Barbados 42 Leagues south and West & from Trinidada ten Leagues northeast; it lyeth north from the Eaquator Eleuen degrees; it was once attempted to be planted by Johannes Roderigo from Spaine. But ye Natiues being then upon it in great Numbers soe discouraged him that after the expending of four months Tyme in Courting the Indians to a Trade, & finding it Bootlesse as all other his attempts, and Sicknesse falling amongst his Soldiers which occassioned Mutanyes, the sixth of May *1614* (he) bare vp the Helme and Sayled for Trinidada where landing in that weake Condition, they found in a few weekes (the greatest part of them) Graves. From whence we may conclude that Soldiers or Planters long aboard, weakened by want and the Sea are noe fitt subject matter either for attacking or planting Collonies in ye West Indies.

This Island is in lenth Nine Leagues, and in breadth in noe place exceeds four; Severall small Islands about it but of noe great Consequence. The Lenth of the Island is East and West, the east and Northerne part are much more uneuen, the West and Southerne part being very Levell but not soe well watered. The Goodnesse of the Land hath occassioned seuerall to attempt its Settlement, but haue either with ye Feauor and Ague or by the handes of the Natiue Proprietors, found little other wellcome then a Resting place for their Bones. The Duke of Corland

[1] *Sloane MSS.* 3662, ff. 47b–49.

Anno 1634 sent a ship thither[1] accomodated with Trade to buy it of the Indians, and to take possession on it in his Right. Being before this Sufficiently informed of their inclinations to Trade with the Dutch or English, he purchased it and the Natiues gaue him a cleare possession disperseing themselues to Guiana to Trinidada and some of them to Saint Vincents, an Isle North North West fourty League from Tobago.

These people being new hands, as they phrase them in *f. 48.* those parts, and haueing noe experienced Planters in their Collonie, and people that came soe farr from the Northward and not any amongst them that knew what was food or Phisick in their proper Seasons, did occassion their mouldring to nothing, 212 men.

The 9th of October, 1639 One Captaine Massam, with between 2 and three Hundred English attempted a Settlement there, but the Indians from St. Vincents did strongly Gaule them from time to time pretending they were not the owners of it. Many of them were Murdered by the Indians and Capt Massam likewise dyed of ye Wounds he receiued at Tobago. Those of his Collony left Sayled for Trinidada and were there kindly receiued by the Arrawago Indians, 1640. Anno 1642 One Captaine Marshall from Barbados began a second Collonie, by the good likeing of Robert Earle of Warwick, & began to plant Tobacco and Indigo, &c., but (they) were often disturbed by the Caribees and at lenth for want of Supplyes were forced to quitt it, went to Suranam, where the same fate followed them. These people thus drove of, the Duke of Corland maketh a second attempt, by People from Zealand under the command of one Capt Coroon an Old Brazillian a

[1] The Duke of Courland's expedition to Tobago did not take place until 1639. The colony which was established in 1634 was conducted by Jan de Moor, Burgomaster of Flushing, and consisted of Zeelanders from that town. They were destroyed by a force of Spaniards and Caribs from Trinidad in 1637. (Cf. *Egerton MSS.* 2395, f. 509 *et seq.*)

Gentleman of good Conduct.[1] But his old Masters of Holland haueing an Eye that way advised him to carry a faire Correspondancy with the Arrawacoes which he did to the Disgust of the Careebs of St. Vincents, whoe tooke theire advantage, and distroyed a great part of that hopefull Colonie. While they were in this distresse ye Arrawacoes from Trinidada came to their releife, where there was but 70 left of 310 whome they releiued, remoueing them to the River Bowroma on the Coast of Guiana where they became a Flourishing Colonie by the preservacion of the Arrawacoes.

The Right Hon^ble^ Rob^t^ Earle of Warwick notwithstanding any Sinister Contract of ye Duke of Corland with ye Indians he haueing a Primary Right by Virtue of Letters Pattents under the broad Seale of England, bareing date the 25 day of February in ye third yeare of King Charles the first, in which Letters Pattent Tobago was fully cleerely and Absolutely granted and Conveyed unto Phillip Earle of Pembrooke and Montgomerie his Heires and Assignes for euer,[2] and ye same was afterwards by the same Earle of Pembrooke and Montgomerie

[1] This second expedition of the Duke of Courland was despatched in 1642. Scott states ("Description of Guyana," p. 141 below) that the flight from Tobago took place in 1650. Professor Burr and others maintain that the date was 1658; but Dr. Edmundson vindicates the accuracy of Scott's date from contemporary evidence. In order to re-assert his rights in Tobago, the Duke of Courland sent a fresh expedition thither in 1654. In the same year Adrian and Cornelius Lampsins, having established a Dutch colony on another part of the island, Captain Caroon and those who had fled with him to the Pomeroon were encouraged to return, as the Anglo-Dutch war of 1652–1653 had brought ruin to the Pomeroon settlement. In August, 1656, Caroon wrote to the States General desiring recognition for his little colony as distinct from that of the Lampsins brothers, which had received an official patent. The Dutch Government, however, knew too much of Caroon's antecedents and refused to trust him. (Cf. Edmundson, *E.H.R.*, Vol. XVI, *ut supra*.)

[2] 'Grant to Philip Earl of Montgomery, Lord Chamberlain, of certain islands between 8 and 13 degrees of North latitude called "Trinidado, Tobago, Barbados and Fonseca," with the islets belonging to them within 10 leagues of their shores, and all customary royalties and immunities, reserving a rent of a wedge of gold of a pound weight when the King, his heirs and successors shall come into those parts (*Cal. Col.*, 1574–1660, p. 91), February 20th, 1628.'

Donald Macbeth, photo-imp.

Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke and
1st Earl of Montgomery (1584-1650).

(From a Painting in the National Portrait Gallery.)

sufficiently granted Conveyed and Assigned over by good and full assurance unto ye said Robert Earle of Warwick and his Heires and Assignes for euer with large and Ample powers Royalties privilidges and Jurisdictions, as full as were granted to the said Earle of Pembrooke & Montgomerie, In pursuance of which Letters Pattents soe Conveyed, the said Earle of Warwick did Anno 1647 sett forth to Divers Gentlemen of the English Nacion his Resolution that as he had attempted two severall times to plant English Colonies on the Island Tobago out of a Godly Zeale for the promoteing of the Gospell in that Island, and being desiourous and carefull to cause that Island, of Tobago to be planted and Peopled in such sort and manner and with such People as may be (by Gods blessing) Instruments of Promoteing and publishing the true Protestant Religion there and might Liue under such good and wholesome Lawes, as may Reasonably be deuised, for their better and more quiet Governement, and for the carrying on of the worke of the said Plantacion for the prosecuting the good ends aboue expressed, the said Earle did sett forth these following proposicions :— *f. 48b.*

1. That all euery tenn Acres ye Planter Principle or Agent hath taken over and above 25 Acres for his owne person he doth Covenant to bring a Servant within five yeares to reside and Plant thereupon.
2. And for the better Encouragement of Servants and Common People to resort and Transplant themselues to ye said Island his Lordship or his Assignes will convey and assure unto ye men Servants (that shall first Transport themselves thither) at the expiracon of their respectiue Termes and performances of the servisces Contracted for after 10 Acres to a man untill thirty thousand acres shall be disposed and distributed amongst such Servants, as shall first Transplant themselues as aforesayd after the said Proportion.

3. That in default of bringing into the said Island and settling upon the said Plantation such a Proporcion of Servants by the end of the said 5 yeares there shall returne to his Lordship and his heires so much of the Plantation so taken up granted or confirmed as shall fall short of Servants after 10 Acres to the Poll, the Planters 25 Acres to be included.

4. That for euery Acre so taken up granted and Confirmed the Planter shall Covenant to yeild to his Lordship his Heires and Assignes from the first day of January 1647 to the first day of January 1650 a Pepper Corne yearely and from the first of January 1650 to the first day of January 1657 a penny per Acre yearely and from ye first day of January 1657 for euer after 2 pence per Acre for euery Acre, the same to be paid halfe yearely, vpon the said Island, to his Lordship his Heires or assignes or the Factors or Agents in Sterling money or in Marchantable Commodities of the Island reasonably vallued.

5. That his Lordship will vpon the Termes aforesaid, passe grants himselfe or authorize persons in trust to passe grants, in fee farme to such seuerall Planters, Principals or Agents respectiuely.

f. 49. 6. That vpon ye non payment of ye said Rents respectiuely his Lordship his Heires Assignes, or Agents, shall be at Liberty to make distresses, and of the Distresse to make sale within tenn dayes restauring ye ouerplus to the Tenant vpon Lawfull demand.

7. That in case of Death of the appointed Governor or Death or remouall of any Succeeding Governor, The Councill of the Island for the time being, shall from time to time haue power to supply his place, by Electing some person in ye Island of Experience, wisdome and unblameable conversacion who shall in all respects and to all intents and purposes haue power to officiate the said place of Governor in as

large and ample manner as the Governor so dying or remoued might Exercize and execute the same and that to continue by vertue of the said Election vntill the Earle shall by his Commition establish him Governor or put some other person Quallified as aforesaid in his Stead to performe and execute ye office of Governor of ye said Island.

8. That as the Island shall be inhabited every one hundred or some other convenient Number of ye Free holders of the said Island inhabiting nearest together and being every of them Seized in his own right as of Fee to him & his Heires of thirty and fiue Acres of Land at the Least or in the Absence of the principalls, their cheif agents & Factors respectiuely have power to Elect yearly a fitt person of vnblamable Life to be of the Common Councill or generall assembly of ye Island, The said common Councill or Generall assembly to consist of at Least thirty and not more then Three-score, according to which Proporcion ye Free-holders may inlarge, or contract the Devission for the makeing of such Elections.

(ii) THE DISCRIPTION OF TRINIDADA.[1]

This Island is Scittuate between the Degrees Nine, and Tenn of Northerne Lattitude, and between 320 & 321 of Longitude, counting from ye first, and sixt Meridian of St. Michaels, one of ye Azoras Islands, and distant from the mouth of ye River Oronoque, Twenty Leagues North, its East end from Barbados, Fifty 8 Leagues South South West, halfe a point Westerly. Its Lenth is fourty Leagues, East and West in Circumference 120 English Leagues, And is the Largest of all thee Carrebee Islands. *f. 43.*

This Island was first discouered by Collumbus, Anno 1497 in his Voyage from Cades, for his further discouery of ye west Indies, who Sayling from thence to the

[1] *Sloane MSS.* 3662, ff. 43–47b.

westward, through that Narrow passage between a pointe of the maine Land, and this Isle, named it for its Dangerousness, Bocca Del Drago.

This Island is in figure something Trianguler & Devided into three parts, by 3 distinct nacions of Indians, Viz[t] The Carrebees, The Sapoyes, and Arowagoes. And those Divissions are Distinctly Sepperated into three parts by Ridges of Mountaines ; And 'tis probable for these reasons it had its name.

This is a most Fertile Island, hath severall fresh Rivers, & the accommodation of many excellent Springs, and from the Abundance and Quallity of its Woods and Trees, the most excellent in all the World, might bee made great advantages from some of them, issuing very rich Gumms, from others Rich Oyles, Balsoms, and Odoriferous Rossins, abundance of Woods, Proper for Dyes. The very Mountaines (are) Covered with Large Cedars, White wood & Excellent Timber for building, or Sheathing of Ships, especially in those parts of the World where the worme Eats both Oake and Firre, *f. 43b.* which in regard of ye bitternesse of this Timber they forbeare doeing Injury, Divers yeares abundance of Excellent Timber for Joyners vse, for Cabinetts, and all other kinde of Rare Workes.

The Cocoa groweth heere in great Plenty, and the best of the sort in all the Indies,[1] Cotton, and Sugar-canes grow there very well, and the Tobacco of Trinidada is ye best in the knowne World. From some of the Mountaynes issues out great quantities of Tarre, some black others green, and Yellow, and the very Clifts towards

[1] Cocoa is still the most valuable product of Trinidad. Humboldt tells us that the cocoa plant originally came from the damp forests of the Amazon and the Orinoco. On the Upper Amazon it is still found growing in its wild state. The Spaniards introduced it into Jamaica, whence it spread to other West Indian Islands. Despite competition from West Africa, the cocoa industry is rapidly extending in the West Indies. In 1922 over 56,000,000 lbs. of cocoa beans were exported from Trinidad, valued at over £1,300,000.

the Sea are stored with a sort of Munjack, not much vnlike pitch to the Eye, which serves very well for Triming Ships. There is great Store of Sulphur on some of the Mountaines and others Symtomes of Rich Mines.

For the time of its beeing first Inhabited, know that one Didacus a Campus, and some other Spaniards between the yeares 1522 and 1590, attempted to settle this Island, but were expelled by the Natives, who though of Different Nations, had a sence of the Spanish Cruelty, and were vnanimous against so severe an Enemy Vntill I know not vpon what Occassion, otherwise then a Common Fate, that at Certaine Periods of time had attended most Nacions in the World, had then a Concurrence to theire Distructions. For about the yeare 1587 the Carrebes and Arawagoes had great differences in the West Indies and Perticularly on Trinidada, Where the Nepoyes, or Sepoyes Nation (for they call themselves by both those names) abetting ye Arawacoes by which meanes abundance of the Careb Nacions were Distroyed, and the Arawacoes and Nepoyes strangly wasted. This gaue the Spaniard an Opertunity of setling on this Island which vnited the Indians, and Ovido in his History of ye West Indians is of opinion had not the King of Spaine, in time, Imployed that Excellent Soldier Don Antonio de Berrero, a most Juditious Gentleman, the natives would haue Rooted them out of their new Colonie, which was only one small Cittie, Consisting of about 500 Houses, in the bottome of ye grand Bay vpon the River Carone, which ye founder named St. Josephs. This Don Antonio the Governor, soe devided the Indians in blowing vp the Coales of the former Differences, which he did by the accommedacion of a Fryer, that had lived at the Island Margaritta and had some Judgment In their Language and Manners. By which meanes the Spaniard greatly depopulated the Islands, and in less then two yeares gaue Lawes to those Native Inhabitants, and Subjected them to the Spanish Yoake. *f. 44.*

Anno 1594 Sir Robert Dudley,[1] vndertooke a Voyage into ye West Indies & sayled first to Cape Blanco in Affrica, where makeing little stay ordered the Master of his Ship, & Pilot of the Fleet one Mr. Abraham Kendall, to Direct his Course to ye Island Trinidada where he arrived from the said Cape, in two and twenty dayes. And although he Designed to fall vpon the Spaniards, yett such was the power the Spaniard had over the Natives, that he could not learne the strenth of the Spanyard vntill he discouered the Succourse the Spanish Governour had gotten from Comona, and Margaretta, which were made knowne to him by five Indian Captaines of the Nepoyes and Arawaco Nations, which ye Spanish Governor came afterwards to vnderstand by one of the Servants, which he catched, and extracted the secrett from him by Torments. And soone after (he) decoyed the said Captains into his Fort, and keept them all in one Chayne, where Sir Walter Raleigh found them the yeare after, and released them. Sr Robt Dudley perceiveing his hopes of Trinidada bootlesse Directed his Cource first to the maine Land South-West from point d'Brea, or Pt. Pich, on Trinidada, and from thence Dispatched a Company of Soldiers in small Boates up ye River Oranoque, on a discouery for Gold Mines. They wandred up and downe fourteen days or there abouts, and returned to the Fleet, makeing little Discouery: and Sir Robt Dudley sayled over againe to the River Parracoa, on Trinidada, where he watered, and tooke in soome fresh Provissions and Fruits, and sayled thence first to the Island Granada, & then to St. John, Portorico, and other parts of the Indies, where hee did the Spanyards great Dammage, and during his stay at Trinidada, did make some Progresse in the Arawaco Language. Sir Robt Dudley had not been gon from Trinidada above two Months but there

[1] See *Sir Robert Dudley's Voyage to . . . Guiana*, 1594. Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series, Vol. III, 1899.

arrived from England, at that Island, Sir Walter Raleigh, with a Small Fleet of her Majesties Ships,[1] who first Anchoring within point Galeria, the east point of that Island, he did with his Barge from the said east point, row by the shoare into every Bay, Cove, River, and Creeke, vntill he came to the point within ye grand Bay, called Punta de Brea, or point Pitch (which is noe less then 170 Miles by the shoare) where the whole Clifts are that kinde of Pitch, called in ye West Indies Munjack. Sir *f. 44b.* Walter Rawleigh at his Extraordinary hazzard and paines surveyed this Island, and it was long before they could come to the Speech of any of the Natives, soe strangly had the Severitie of Don Antonio the Governor awed those People. At Lenth one Cantimay, An Arrawaco, Capt. and his Slave seeing one Cap^{t} Widdon, in Company with Sir Walter Rawleigh, a Gentleman the Indian had seen before at Oranoque in a former Voyage he had made into those parts, in ye night stole aboard the Ships in a small Corior (for soe they call their small boates). This Arawaco gaue S^{r} Walter Rawleigh an account of Sir Rob^{t} Dudleys Arrivall on that Island, and his Departure, his Progresse on the Maine Land in Discouery of Mines, of the Governor Don Antonio, his sending for 300 soldjers from Margaritta &c during S^{r} Rob^{t} Dudleys stay on that Island, which had like to haue been his Ruine, the Cruelty of the Spanyards to the five Arawaco Captaines, that were Freinds to the English. [He told him] of Don Antonio's sending to Margaritta and Commana for more Soldjers vpon his vnderstanding who Commanded that Fleet; how far it was from the place where ye Ships Roade at Anchor to the Citty up the River Carone; what strenth they had; & that Don Antonio Resolued to give him a Cassado, if his strenth came from Margaritta, &c. And [he] further assured the English that all their Indians would

[1] Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana*. London, 1595.

assist them, and that haueing expelled the Spanyard thence they would put themselves vnder the Protection of his Great Mistresse the Queen. Vpon which Sr Walter Rawleigh fell vpon the Citty, and by the assistance of the natiues, Surprised it, and suffered the Indians to burne the Citty, which did greatly oblidge the Indians to him, and permitted the Spanish Inhabitants to Transport themselves whither they pleased, except the Governor Don Antonio de Berrero and his Lieutenant, whome Sir Walter Rawleigh keept, but used with Extraordinary Kindness, The Governor beeing a Gentleman well Defended and of Great Gallantrie and Curtesy; an excellent Soldjer, One that had Served the King his Master, both in Millaine, and the West Indies with good Successe.

Sr Walter Rawleigh, although he had a great opinion of Trinidada, yett his Genius run greatly after ye gold Mines he fancied there was in Guiana (and soe euer after prossecuted that designe), into which Cheat he was drawne by ye Spanyard who ordered a Ship of theires to Cruize
f. 45. up and downe till shee met with some of Sir Walter Rawleighs Fleet. And shee Fortuned to fall into the Hands of one Capt George Popham, in which Ship was Divers Pacquets which did give an Account of a great Cittie they had Discouered on Guiana, where was the most Incredable quantity of Gold ever heard of, and ye Dishes, plates, Spoones, and all other Vtensills that ye meanest people used, were of Gold, and this was attested by Seignr Alonzo Governor of Commona, an other signed by Roderigo Carranca Register of the Army, a third Signed by Martinezo Secretary of Jamaica, an other Pacquett from the Governor and Persons of Quallity at Rio di hacha, & from divers other parts of the Indies, and haueing suffered him to take such Proofes as they had fitted for that end, on designe to keepe Sir Walter Rawleigh from those parts that were really Rich, & in their Possessions. For its Certaine, there is noe such thing as the Citty Elrado;

although the uper part of Guiana hath Store of Gold, but its found as in Guinney in small Grains.

Wee find nothing considerable at Trinidada, vntill ye yeare 1605 at what time ye Spanyard bought of some Dutch Merchants a quantity of Negroe Slaues to be Delivered at ye River Carone on Trinidada, being resolved to Rebuild their Cittie St. Joseph, what at that time with the Indians, they could not doe, for the Arrawacoes, Nepoyes, and Carrebs, the Natives of Trinidada did vnanimously owne the protection of the English, and S^r^ Walter Rawleighs did instruct them in building a kind of Fortification on the most naturell Fastnesses, and to make them Musquett Proofe, whither their Old men, wives, and Children, might retyre in time of Distresse, whilst they might Gaule the Spanish Settlements. Hee Likewise Stored them with many thousand of Arrow-heads of Hardned Iron, such as they neuer had before nor since. The Dutch Merchants sent their Negroes, by one Isaac Duverne who Anno 1606 Landed 470 men & Women Negroes at Trinidada, and During his stay did Converse much with the Indians, whome he reports to haue had a Venerable opinion of Sir Walter Rawleigh. This Gentleman did Trauell many score miles on Trinidada, and doth Report it to bee the best Land he euer beheld, he saith there are in it Rich Copper, and Iron, Mines. Sometimes (he saith) he found Mountaines Couered with Marquoysetts, very Ponderous, That he Trauelled some Miles in one Valley; The Earth whereof being Fragrant as Violetts, and from the Trees that grew on *f. 45b.* that Land, there Issued out the most Odorifferous Balsome he ever smelt.

From Duverne's observacions, Anno 1607 nothing hapned Considerable for Divers yeares, some little mis-vndrestanding between the Spanyards, & ye Native Indians and S^r^ Walter Rawleigh's harbouring at Point Gallo, or Cape Coast, on that Island, in his last and

vnhappy Voyage to Guiana 1618, and his renewing his League, and Acquaintance with the Indians.

In the yeare 1625 Cap^{t} Thomas Warner with 3 ships from London Designed to attempt something vpon the Spanyards at Trinidada but it proued bootless, and after a short stay sayled thence to the Island St. Christophers.

The yeare after, an English Ship being in those parts of ye West Indies, fortuned to fall in with the Island of Trinidada, and wanting fresh-water, did there Supply themselves, & during their stay the Indians did shew them great kindnesse and did likewise signifie unto them, that they kept the greatest part of that Island for the English, in pursuance of their compact with S^{r} Walter Rawleigh, Anno 1595, And renued with the said S^{r} Walter Rawleigh Anno 1618. (It) was made knowne to Phillip Earle of Pembrooke Lord Chamberlaine of his then Majesties Household, by the Master of the Ship one Robert Goddard, at the Returne of their Voyage for England; vpon which Phillip Earle of Pembrooke, haueing had a great pretence to all the Careebee Islands (the greater part of which were in the possession of James Earle of Carlisle)[1] had a graunt thereof (as a full Issue of all those Troubles and differences that had been betweene the two Earles about Barbados &c) from his Majestie King Charles the first, by his Letteres Pattents

[1] The facts of this somewhat complicated dispute are as follows: On July 2nd, 1627, James Hay Earl of Carlisle obtained a patent for all the Caribee Islands in fufilment of a verbal promise given to him by James I in 1624. (Copy of Patent in *Trinity College, Dublin, MSS.*, G. 4, 15, p. 42; see also *Cal. Col.*, 1574–1660, p. 85). In consideration, however, of a similar promise from James I, the Earl of Pembroke received a patent in 1628 for a group of islands which included "Trinidado, Tobago, Barbados and Fonseca" (see footnote, p. 116 above). Pembroke accordingly claimed Barbados for himself and his client, Sir William Courteen. But after considerable negotiation, Lord Keeper Coventry decided that, although there had been obvious confusion in the letters patent between Barbados and the barren rock known as Barbuda, the original intention had been to grant the former island to Carlisle and was therefore legally his. (*Cal. Col.*, 1574–1660, pp. 91, 97, etc.). Pembroke, of course, retained possession of the Trinidad-Tobago group which (as Scott states) he sold to Warwick in 1638.

vnder his great seale of England the 25th of February the Third yeare of his said Majesties Reigne; (he) did give Graunt and Confirme, to the Right Honble Phillip Earle of Pembrooke & Montgomery all and every the Islands of Trinidada, Tobago, St. Bernard, and Barbados, and by the same Letters Pattents did Create the said Islands into one Province, and did ordaine the same to be called by the name of the Province of Montgomery, or Montgomery Islands, and amongst divers other Priveleges & Immunities, did give and Graunt thereby vnto the Sayd Earle of Pembrooke, and Montgomery, his Heires and Assignes full power and Authority to make wholesome *f. 46.* Lawes, and ordinances, and to Constitute, and ordaine Officers of all sorts, and to Arme them with Authority and power for the better Governement of the sayd Province, in such manner as hee and they should thinke meete.

The sayd Phillip Earle of Pembrooke, &c., by an Indenture of Bargaine and Sale, beareing date the ninth Day of Aprill Anno 1638, bargained and sold vnto Robert Earle of Warwick his Heires and Assignes all and singular the said Mountgomery Islands, called by the seuerall names aforesaid, with all their Rights, Prerogatives, and Privilliges, &c.

The First Collonie.

Robert Earle of Warwick, in order to the ends designed by his Majestie, Vizt The expectacions of the English Monarchy &c., Did first Commissionate Capt Robert Massham Anno 1639 Lieut. Governor vnder his Lordship, of all the said Province of Mountgomery. This Gentleman was Murthered by ye Carebee Indians of Trinidada, by the Contrivance of the Spanyard, who Informed the said Carebees, that the English were come on purpose to Assist and abett the Sepoyes, and Arawacoes against them the said Carebees. The greatest part of this small

Colonie were preserved by the timely assistance of the Arawacoes, in Dispight of that Spanish Contrivance.

The Second Collonie.

Anno 1640 The said Rob^{t} Earle of Warwick, did graunt full power to Divers Gentlemen, to plant a Second Collonie and did Commissionate the said Gentlemen to chouse a President and name in the said Commission divers persons for a Standing Councell, but his Lordship ye yeare after did resolve to Nullifie the power graunted as aforesaid: And in order thereunto did Commissionate One Cap^{t} William Fortiscue to bee Governor and Chife Commander of the English Collonie at Trinidada. But before the Arrivall of the said Commission, the People had Elected one Major Jeremiah Hartley: and was Resolued
f. 46b. they would not receive Cap^{t} Fortescue, alledging, that would destroy the Privilliges graunted them from the Earle of Warwick which were the grownds of their Leaueing their Native Countrie, and did send the Earle of Warwick their Reasons why they could not, in Prudence receive the Governor (his Lordship had sent them), which gaue sattisfaction to his Lordship.

The Third Collonie.

Anno 1644 The sayd Rob^{t} Earle of Warwick, for the encrease of the Honour and Extent of the English Nacion and for Divers other good ends, did graunt divers Liberties and Privilledges vnto Iohn Holmsteed and Tho. Churchman of London, Collonels, Richard Beaton, Alexander Piard, of the same Serjant Majors, Christopher Kynnell,[1]

[1] Christopher Kaynall had been appointed Governor of Antigua for the Commonwealth by Sir George Ayscue in 1652. The factiousness of the planters and the somewhat high-handed measures of Kaynall brought about a series of disputes, which in 1655 came to such a pitch that the latter sailed for England where he succeeded in winning over the authorities to his side and in gaining a fresh commission as Governor from Cromwell (see draft of the Commission, *Egerton* 2395, f. 68: and for details of the quarrel, *Rawlinson MSS.* "A," ff. 372–409).

Edward Smith, Richard Sanders, Alexander Tulidah Esq^{rs} and W^{m} Bedumount, Francis Reins, John Fountayne, John Green, W^{m} Turke, Rob^{t} King, Edward Dyson, Samwell Leadbeater, Thomas Theobalds, Bernard Tremblett, Samwell Eames and Tho. Cooper Gent. for and in behalfe of themselves and their Associats, Viz^{t} 100,000 Acres of Land, in any part of the said Island, or Isletts, within four Leagues of the Grand Island (Alwayes provided they were not to settle, within Twenty Miles of the Collonie, already planted by Serjant Major Hartley) with all Shoares, Ports, Creeks, Hauens, Harbours, Rivers, and the Soyles thereof, and all Woods, Lands, Grounds, Mines, Mineralls, Structures, Wild-Beasts, Fowles, Profits, Perquisetts, Commodities & Hereditaments, within the said 100,000 Acres of Land, so to be taken, And all Royall Fishings, Wrecks, Fleatsum, Jatsan, Lagan, Waifts, in all places, and at all times, to them their Heires, and Assignes, for ever. As was Largly set downe in an Instrument beareing date ye 20 day of Aprill in the twentieth yeare of Charles the first, By the Grace of God, of England, Scottland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the faith &c., between Robert Earle of Warwick Lord High Admirall of England, of the one part & Collonell John Holmsteed, And Associates, one the other part, who in pursuance of the said Comission, did imbarque in seuerall Ships, a great number of Sober Judicious People, bound for the Island Trinidada, who Landed there January Anno 1644. But (they) fortuned to sett downe in a fertile peice of Ground, on the South syde of the Island, the Earth full of Springs, which sort of Land is alwayes unhealthfull *f. 47.* at the first opening being Cloyed with vndegested Vapoures. Besides it was the Leeward side of the Island, which Barred them the Injoyment of the Naturell Trade, Wind, or East, North East Breezes of those parts: likewise that part of the Island endures ye

Cold Foggs that arrives from the Great River Oronoque, which the Trade Wind will not lett passe to ye North and East parts of the Island, and meeting with Repulse, falls downe to the South and Westerne part, and most of all in the Cod of that Bay, where those Gentlemen Settled. All these things Concurred to make these people vnhappie (in the losse of their healthe), which they too late deserned. For such Violent Feauours seized them, that in a few Months ye Liueing could scarce Bury the Dead, And those left, the yeare following deserted the Collonie [which] they had began to settle & embarqued some for Barbados, and others returned back againe for England. It was Observed that in their greatest Extremities, the Arawacoes And Nepoyes Indians shewed them Extraordinary Kindnesse.

The other Collonie vnder the Command of Major Hartley although they had Lived there five yeares, without any Considerable Mortallities, as being the greater part Planters from St. Christophers, and other of the Islands in those parts, and had more Judgment to make Choice of a Dryer and fitter peice of Land to build on then the other Collonie, who were most of them Strangers to the businesse of Plantations, yett these people had Likewise settled on the Leeward side of the Island, by the place called Warwick River in ye Chart & had pitched upon that Place, feareing ye Spainyards.

The same yeare 1645 These people likewise Deserted their Colonie, feareing the Report of that Mortallitie, that of Late had been amongst their Neigbours would not onely discourage all people from comeing thither, but would likewise be a meanes to Animate the Spanyards against them. Yett before they would leaue the Island divers of the Gentlemen at the request of the Arawacoes & Sepoyes Indians did resolve to take a farther view of the Island then they had yett done. And one

Mr. W^m^ Drax[1] a Gentleman of knowne Reputation, one of those that went vpon the Discouery and now Liued in London, told the Author that about 30 Miles from the Sea, *f. 47b.* by a River Syde they mett with a Valley couered with Large Trees, whose Barke was Yellow as Gold and the Wood a Dellicate Red, the Earth as Fragrant and neere the like smell of Damask Roses. And though these Gentlemen received this great Incouragement, [yet] the Collonies [being] vpon the Wing, and many gone, they were forced to leaue this excellent Country.

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[1] William Drax was an able and influential planter who had emigrated to Barbados about 1640. When the Barbadians first began to plant sugar canes and (owing to their ignorance) were making little progress, "the great industry and more thriving Genious" of Drax was chiefly responsible for its successful development. (Scott's "Description of Barbados." *Sloane* 3662, f. 60*b*.) He was the leader of the Commonwealth party in the island which endeavoured to prevent the Royalists from seizing control of the island. (See A Briefe Relation of the Beginning & Ending of the Troubles of the Barbados . . . by A. B. . . . *Egerton* 2395, f. 48 *et seq.* ; also *A Briefe Relation of the late Horrid Rebellion . . . written at sea by Nicholas Foster*, London, 1650.) As a reward for his services Drax was knighted in 1659.

§ V. GUIANA.

f. 37b. (i) "THE DISCRIPTION OF GUYANA."[1]

This Country is bounded between the two great Rivers (not oncly of America) but of the knowne World, for Danube, Rhine, Ganges, Kyam, Nilus, Gambo, Rio Plato it selfe doth not boast of such Lenth, such vast Islands within its Armes, nor any of the other, for lenth and breadth. Both Rivers are Crossed with ye Eaquanoctiall Line, and its Confines endures the sunns Darts, being twice a yeare a perpendicular, in his Motion from South to North.

The River Amazones Bounds this Province on ye south east, whose north Cape hath onely 38 minutes of north Latitude and 335 degrees of Longitude, counting from St. Michaels one of the Azoras Islands. Oranoque bounds it on the north-west, whose Southerne Cape hath Eight degrees and 40 minutes of Latitude and 322 degrees of Longitude between these two Rivers Guiana Fronts 230 Leagues on the Atlantick ocean. Both these Rivers agree and meet in the Latitude of 4 Degrees South from the Eaquator, as the author hath been Informed by the Concurrent storys of the Natives of those parts, and by the two greatest Trauailors that ever were in Guiana of Christians. The one was one Matteson[2] borne at Guant, that had managed a Trade 22 years for the Spaniard from ye

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[1] *Sloane MSS.* 3662, ff. 37b–42b.

[2] Major Scott in another of his writings, "The Historical and Geographicall Description of the Great River of the Amazons . . . , and of the several Nations inhabiting that ffamous Country" (*Rawlinson MSS.* "A." 175, f. 355 *et seq.*), again mentions his indebtedness to Matteson: "I received very much of what I shal relate from Captaine Matthias Matteson, a Ghentoise by nation, but was Captaine of the Admiral Vessel in which Pedro Texeiro imbarked when he went up on the Discovery of the mightie Amazons Anno Dom. 1637 . . . This Matteson was Captain of the Vessel I made the discovery of part of

Citty of St. Thome in Oranoque, with the Shahones, Sepoyes, and Occowyes,[1] whose habitacions are 200 Leagues South-west from St. Thome neare the mountaines of the sunn, where they have great Riches. The other was one Hendricson a Switz by Nation, that had served some Dutch Merchants in those parts 27 yeares in Quallity of a Factor, with the vpland Indians of Guiana.[2] Both these Persons happened to be prisoners to the Author in his Voyage to Guiana, 1665. These men both agreed that two branches of the Rivers only mett, and that

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the Amazone River, & after in Anno Dom. 1665 & 1666, a captaine of one of the vessels in the squadron of ships I Commanded Against the French, & Dutch, on the Island Tobago, & on the Coast of Guiana &c." (see " Description," pp. 144–145 below). " I bought of this Man all his Mapps charts and journals which he had made in fortie years, while he had served the Spaniards, & Porteguise in the West Indies."

Scott's statement that Matteson was Texeira's pilot is corroborated by Alonso de Roja's Account, in which he is styled " el gran piloto " and has his name written as " Matamatizo. " (Quoted by Edmundson, *E.H.R.*, Oct., 1903.)

[1] The *Shahones* (*i.e.*, Sahaunes or Swanis) were a tribe situated in the region lying between the Amazon and the Negro. " It is most certain," writes Scott, " that there is both gold, silver and emerald in many of the countries on or adjacent to the Amazones, as at Swanis, near the source of the Black River . . ." (" The Historical and Geographicall Description of the Great River of the Amazons : : .," *ut supra.*)

The *Sepoyes* (or Sapoyas) and the *Accowyes* (Achawois or Accuways) were two groups of tribes living in the central forest region of Guiana, that is to say between the coastal plain and the mountains in the West.

[2] In support of this evidence of Dutch trading activity with the Indians of Guiana in the early decades of the 17th century, Dr. Edmundson (" The Dutch on the Amazon & Negro in the 17th century," *E.H.R.*, Vol. XIX) quotes Cristoval de Acũna, who states that the Dutch factors on the Essequibo carried on a trade in iron and other goods with the natives of the interior as far west as the Rio Negro. Edmundson then shows that the Dutch merchants here referred to must have been the well known firm of Jan de Moor & Coy., as they were the only private firm privileged to trade at Essequibo. (Cf. footnotes, pp. 115 above and 139 below.)

In support of Scott's statement that Hendrickson had spent twenty-seven years in this trade, Edmundson quotes the following entries from the Minute Books of the Zeeland Chamber :—

(i) 10 April, 1628. The despatch of the ship " Armuyden " to carry thirty-five men to various localities on the wild coast of Guiana.

(ii) 17 April, 1628. " Jan Hendrickson Benchelaer " (*i.e.*, men of Benchen, in Switzerland) " engaged to lie on the wild coast as assistant for three years."

(iii) 26 April, 1628. " Benchelaer coming from Essequibo shall be paid his wages."

afterward Oranoque streched it selfe westward aboue 800 miles, and would by noe meanes agree with ye Discription given by Count Pagan in his History of the Amazones in that Particular.

It is beyond all Controvercy that Guiana hath been time out of mind ye Station of ye Carrebs, and all the Indians on the Island owe their oridginall from thence,
f. 38. & differ in Language onely, as ye Inhabitants of the Islands of Jersey, Garnsey, &c., doe from the Inhabitants of France. And the opinion of their comeing from Florida is very Fond and Ridiculous, to all persons that know the nature of the winds, and Currants in those parts.

But in persuance of the Discription of this Countrey: Know that it abounds with many Spacious Rivers, Rivaletts, & Creeks, which I have endeauoured with great care to discribe in ye Chart[1] with their Lattitude, and Longitude in the two boundaries, Cape north, the northerne Cape of the great Amazone and Cape Brema, the Southern Cape of Oronoque; by which all ye rest may be measured. For Instance, between both the mentioned Capes 28 Leagues raiseth or depreseth a degree of Lattitude without any Considerable error; The Course beeing nearest north-west and South-East, together with ye habitacions of the distinct natives of that Spacious Province, which I hope may be of Singular use as well as for delight.

The Rivers and Lakes of Guiana are stored with 30 distinct Species of Fish that are very good for Food, their woods with ye Buffloe, Elke, and severall sorts of Deere, their Sauanoes[2] especially near the head of the River Parma, are stor'd with wild Cattle, and in all places great plenty (of Cassaua, of which they make their bread) Poetatoes, Yams, and other Rootes. Heer is indeed every thing necessary for Life. But for as much as I designe to Sattisfie the world, in a particular peice

[1] This chart is missing.

[2] *i.e.*, Savannas.

touching the distinct Species of Beasts for Foode and of prey, Foule, Fish, Trees, Plants, and all insects ; therefore I thing it not proper to enlarge vpon them in this place, But its certaine nature hath been in most parts of Guiana very prodigall of her bounty.

I shall proseed to mencion heere first the Commodities, secondly the Deseases it is most incident to and in what parts, Thirdly, the best Judgment I could make of what number there ar of Natives, how many of each other Nacion, and where they inhabite, haueing besides my owne observacions, taken measures from the afore mencioned Mr. Hendrickson, and Matteson, and Journalls I fortuned to meet with, Fourthly, what Nations of Europe have from time to time settled there and what Fortune they haue had.

Comodities.

The Comodities of Guiana ar Gold, Silver, Annetta (a Dye) Rich Gumms, Balsoms, Honey, wax, Specklewood Fustick, many Phisickall Druggs, Sugar, Cotton, & Rice.

Diseases.

It hath been Observed that from the River Amazones to Sinamare, the People are Strangly afflicted with ye Gout, & Dropsie, and not free from other diseases. From Sinamare westward to Curranteen, greatly Infected with Pestilentiall Feauers and Agues, and a Certaine Sweating Disease to follow attended with numbness in the Joynts, when it is most Rageing it is a most Strang Violent Feauour burning within and yett the whole Body coole without, and the Feete and hands very could and Dry. But it hath not the same opperation on all, nor ar the Natives much Troubled with these distempers but the Europeans.

From Curranteen to the West side of Dissekeeb[1] the Natives as well as others are strangly troubled with the Indian Pox which hath till of late yeares brake

[1] *i.e.*, Essequibo.

out in great plotches and Scabs, which they use to dry up with the milkey quallity of a Crabo Tree produced from the young twigs and Leaues. In few days the Scabs will be dryed up, and there would remaine onely an Akeing in the Joynts, which they cured themselves of by batheing their Joynts with an oyle produced of Berryes from the same Tree. But those that live neare the English Dutch or French and drink wines or strong waters finde quite different Simptoms, the dissease payning much Inwardly, and the Antient Remedies will not effect the cure, which often inwraps them in great difficulties.

From Dissekeeb to Awarabish, a River in the west side of Oranoque, I observed the Inhabitants to be full of Children and Subject (but as in other healthfull Countreys) to noe rageing Distemper, except it be in Rainy weather, and then they ar Subject to Sore Eyes. Women that keepe much within are not trubled with the distemper, nor men that use much Exercise. The River water of Guiana is not soe healthfull as wells and Springs, that ar kept from branches & leaves of Trees that have a poysonus quallity, with which ye Rivers, especially those that come from the high lands & run farr, are greatly troubled with.

Numbers, and the Habitations of ye Natives.

The most numerous nacion of Indians in Guiana are ye Careebs, and these are Inhabited in Aricare about 6000 Careeb Families.

In Wiapoca,[1] Macoria, & Abrewaco, Eleven thousand Careebe Families.

In the River Marrawina, about 800 Careeb Families.

And up the same River, and towards the head of Sinnamar lives about 1400 Paricoates, the great Masters of Poyson in America, they pretend to poyson Fountaines. (They) are a people very formall, marry ever within their owne Nation, haue little Commerce but for their Poyson,

[1] *i.e.*, Oyapok.

which they sell to other nacions. The Careebs haue some Judgment in ye art of Poisoning their Arrowes, and are great Masters in the cure but short of these people.

In Suranam, Commowina, Suramaco, Copenham, & Currianteen are about 5000 Carreeb Families, and there lives in Suramaco, and the upper parts of Suranam, about 1400 Turroomacs, And up Curianteen about 1200 Sapoyes.

From the West side of Curianteen to Wina, there liues about 8000 Families of Arawagoes, the best humoured Indians of America being both very just and generous minded people; and in little villages by the Sea side lives about 400 Families of Warooes in Moroca and Wina. And in the Islands of Oranoque River and neare the mouth of that River lives about 5000 Families of Warooes, the only Ship-wrights of those parts, for all the great Periagoes[1] are made by them. They make their vessells, their Cordage, Sayles, Hammocks, Bread and Drinke all of one tree, they likewise make great Periagoes of an other wood called white wood. They differ from all other Indians in Life and manners (have nothing for delight whilst all other Indians are great Lovers of fine Gardens, Drinking, Danceing, and divers other pleasures), are a people bloody and Trecherous, and not to be Conversed with. And therefore I advise all people that Sayle into those parts, to discource with the Warooes nation with their Armes in their hands.

From Wina to the utmost part of Awarabish, on the west syde of Oranoque, and the Rivers Oronoque, Poraema, and Amacora, are about 20000 Careebs Families. The Occowyes, Shawhouns,[2] and Semicorals,[3] are great *f. 39b.* powerfull Nacions, that Live in the vplands of Guiana,

[1] *i.e.*, Canoes.

[2] See footnote, p. 133 above.

[3] Edmundson (*E.H.R.*, Vol. XIX, *op. cit.*) conjectures that "Semicorals" is a corruption of "Kenicurus," the name of an Indian tribe living on the shores of Lake Parimé, who were noted for the quality of their clothing.

either under the Line or in South Lattitude, and there hath none soe converced with them, as to make a judgment of them as to their Numbers. But its most Certaine they are setled in a most Fertile Countrey, and Cover a vast Tract of Land beginning at ye mountaines of the Sun on the West and north, and extending them selfes to Rio Negroe 500 miles south, and East, a famous River there (which) emties itselfe into the great Amazone. They have a Constant Warr with some nations on the Islands in the Amazones, and are often gauld by the Willey Careebs, who often when they are Ingaged abroad visett their Townes to their noe small prejudice. And thus much of the Natives.

When first made knowne to the Europeans and what fortune they Successively have had.

The first Christian that ever attempted to sett footeing on Guiana, to the Southward of Oranoque, was Pedro de Acosta, a Spaniard, (who) with two small Corvils, (&) 300 men Anno 1530 setled in Parema, (&) was draue thence by the Indians the same yeare, many slaine and their Goods and Chattles become a booty to the Careebs.

The second Colonie was setled at Cayan by Gasper de Sotelle being one hundred & 26 Families, from Spaine Anno 1568, but were expelled by the Careebs and Paracoates Anno 1573.

The third setlement was by three ships from France at Wiapoca Anno 1607 and being 400 men, began to plant Tobacco, and to thinke themselves secure, and too franckly to Converse with the natives. They were all cut off Anno 1609 except a few Marriners.[1]

[1] A remnant of Captain Leigh's settlement (founded 1604, cf. Intro., pp. lxviii–lxix) was still living on with the Dutch on the Oyapok in 1612; for in that year Sancho de Alquiea wrote—"there are forty houses of English & Flemings in the settlement, which I report to be on the river Guyapoco, and that there be eighty men in it; and they occupy themselves in sowing tobacco & cultivating it." (British Case, Venezuela Boundary Dispute, App. I, p. 41.)

The fourth Colonie was of 160 Families, from France Landed at Cayan, and Fortified themselves Anno 1613. The Parecoates begun to offer them Freindship; they were in few months many distroyed, and the rest forct to quitt the place and retire for France.

The fift Colonie consisted of two hundred and eighty Zealanders with two small ships, (who) Landed theire men at Cayan, Anno 1615, but could not bring the Natives to a Trade, were often Gauled by the Indians, and were at *f. 40.* Lenth forced to quit their Poste Returned to Zealand the same yeare.

The sixth Colonie was undertaken by one Capt. Gromweagle a Dutchman that had served the Spaniard in Oranoque.[1] But understanding a Companie of Merchants of Zealand had before undertaken a voyage to Guiana, and attempted a Settlement there, he deserted the Spanish Service, and tendred himselfe to his owne Countrey; which was excepted and he dispatched from Zealand Anno 1616 with two ships and a Galliote, and was the first man that tooke firme footeing on Guiana by the good

[1] Aert Adriaensz Groenewegen was a Dutch Roman Catholic whose native town was Delft. By careful deduction Dr. Edmundson reconstructs the history of Dutch commercial expansion on the Essequibo and the share that Groenewegen took in it, in a manner which substantiates Scott's statements. About 1613 some Dutch merchants had established themselves on the Essequibo, but within two years the venture had come to grief. Meanwhile both Groenwegen and Captain Powell had been employed in the ships of Courteen and Co. for the King of Spain. But the former being a Roman Catholic was tempted to remain (so Edmundson concludes) on the Orinoco as factor for the Spanish authorities at St. Thomé. Then learning of the failure of the Dutch settlement on the Essequibo, Groenewegen determined to desert the Spaniards for his old Dutch employers. On returning therefore to Holland he was put in command of an expedition by Jan de Moor & Peter Courteen, which established a private trading station on an island at the estuary of the Essequibo. In 1621 the Dutch West India Company was incorporated, and regarded the private enterprise under Groenwegen with suspicion; but for many years the Company's colony under Van der Goes and Groenwegen's trading post remained distinct, De Moor and Courteen retaining special privileges for trade independent of the Company. The two probably fused in 1644, for in that year Jan de Moor died and Groenwegen thereupon became the Company's servant. The last of Groenwegen's many expeditions (to the River Takuta and on to the Parimé) took place in 1661 and was apparently in search of El Dorado. He died at his post in 1664.

likeing of the natives, whose humours the Gent. perfectly vnderstood.[1] He erect(ed) a Fort on a Smal Island 30 Leagues up the River Disseekeeb, which looked into two great braches of that Famous River. All his time the Colonie flourished. He managed a great Trade with the Spaniards by the Indians with great Secrecy. He was a great freind of all new Colonies of Christians of what nacion soever, And Barbados oweth its first assistance both for Foode and Trade to this mans speciall kindness Anno 1627, at what time they were in a misserable Condition.[2] He dyed Anno 1664 and in the 83^{d} yeare of his Age, a welthy man; haueing been Governor of that Colonie Forty 8 yeares. In this Colonie the Authour had the good Fortune to meet with some Injenious Observacions of the former Governors of what had been Transacted in Guiana in his time, to whome the word is obliged for many particulars of this Story.

The seauenth was a small factory at Berbishus about ye yeare 1624, (which) is now a Strong Garrison and belongeth to two Merchants of Flushing, Myn heer van Ree, and Myn heer van Pear, a place that abounds with excellent horses & Chattle and is a good factory for Annotta, Dye, and Druggs.

Sir Walter Raleighs first Voyage 1598 and his last unfortunate Voyage 1618, and the business of Mr harcourt at Wiapoca, being writt with their owne penns I shall say nothing of them, onely that If S^{r} Walter Raleigh had lived he would haue left matter for a

[1] The close alliance already existing in 1614 between the Dutch and the Caribs is illustrated in the following statement :—" Captain Llanes (the Spanish name for Groenwegen) commanded in Essequibo, and besides their own forces they were further protected by 10,000 to 12,000 Caribs, in the vicinity of whom they frequent and who are their allies." (Deposition of Capt. Don Francisco de Salazar, British Case, Venezuela Dispute, *ut supra*, App. I.)

[2] The facts cited in the previous footnote explain why Powell should have gone for aid to Groenwegen in his distress. (Cf. Depositions printed above.)

Gratefull story. He left soe good and so great a name behind him with the Native Indians in those parts, that the English haue often been Obliged to Remember with Honour.

The eight Colonie was a ship and a Barque from France which landed their people at Meriwina, Anno 1625. The next vessell that came could heare noe news of their Collonie, and were without all dout distroyed by the Natives.

The ninth Collonie was 3 Ships from Rochell Anno 1626 *f. 40b.* with 534 men some Women and Children. They setled at Suramaca lived 3 yeares in peace, but sicknesse falling amongst them and the Indians being Troublesome (Those few that were left) deserted the Collonie and went to St. Christophers.

The tenth Collonie was two ships and a small vessell from France Anno 1639 with 370 men settled at Suramaca, and the yeare after came to theme from France many Famillies. They lived peaceably vntill the yeare 1642 at what time they had great Supplies of men Ammunicion & provission from France. (They) grew carelesse, spred themselves to Suranam, and Curanteen, had differance with ye Indians, and were all cut of in one Day.

The elleauenth Collonie was one Mr. Marshall with 300 Families of English Imployed by the Earle of Warwick, &c^{r}, who settled Suranam, Suramaca & Curanteen Anno 1643, lived peaceably vntill the yeare 1645 at which time they espoused the Quarrell of ye French and were cut of by the natives.

The twelfth Collonie was of Dutch setled by the Zealanders in the Rivers, Borowma,[1] Wacopon, & Moroca, haveing been draue of(f) from Tobago Anno 1650. And ye yeare following a great Collonie of Dutch, and Jewes, draue of from Brazile, by the Portugaize

[1] *i.e.*, Pomeroon.

setled there and being Experienced Planters, that soone grew a Flourishing Colonie.[1]

The thirteenth Collonie was of French at Suramaca and at Chyan, were the greatest part cut of by the Careebs and Saepoyes Anno 1649.

The fourteenth Collonie was at Suranam, Anno 1650, about 300 people of the English Nacion from ye Island of Barbados vnder the Collonie of one Lieut. Collonel Anthony Rowse,[2] a Gentleman of great Gallatrie and Prudence and of Long Experience in ye West Indies. His makeing a firme peace with the Indians, soone after his Landing, and Reviveing the name of S[r] Walter Raleigh, gave the English firme footeing in those parts, and it soone became a hopefull Collonie.

These people had the Accomodacion of a Ship from Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham (then at the

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[1] Dr. Edmundson considers this statement as being highly probable. The Dutch hold upon Brazil had been visibly weakening; with the result that a relief expedition was despatched in 1648 under Admiral Witte de With. The Dutch, however, suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Portuguese on April 19th of that year, and on February 19th, 1648, were utterly crushed. Hence between May 15th and July 16th, 1651, fifty ships left Brazil with Dutch refugees on board. (Cf. Varnhagen: *Os Hollandezes no Brazil*.) What more likely then that they should flee to their more fortunate countrymen on the Pomeroon, as Scott says? The statement that a large number of Jews accompanied them is still more likely; for they could expect no mercy from either Portuguese or Spaniard.

[2] Anthony Rous was a prosperous planter in Barbados, who was long prominent in West Indian affairs. When in 1642 Capt. William Jackson arrived at Barbados, seeking further recruits for his intended buccaneering cruise along the Spanish main, Rous took command of a company under him, and distinguished himself in the adventures which followed. He was, however, more prominent than skilful at the storming of Jamaica. "But Capt. Anthony Rouse marching up with his men in ye face of ye frunt, ye enemy tooke hold of this advantage & discharged a great chamber peice, which slew five of our men, & Grievously wounded Eight more, whereof most of them dyed shortly after." ("The Voyages of Capt. William Jackson," ed. V. T. Harlow, *Camden Miscellany*, Vol. XIII.) Anthony was probably a grandson of Sir Anthony Rous, who had married the widowed mother of John Pym.

Barbados) and the Loane of a parcell of Indian Trade. *f. 41.*
The Lord Willoughby settled a Plantacion amongst them at Suranam, another at Comonina vpon which he Disburst at least 26000li Pownd.

Anno 1654 Lieutenant Coll. Rowse haveing established this Collonie, left it in a flourishing Condicion, and in perfect Peace with the Indians, & one Major William Byam was Chosen Governor, A Judicious Gentleman. And in that Condicion it Stood dayly increaseing vntill the yeare 1660, at what time his Majestie being happily restored to his Just Rights, Francis Lord Willoughby (amongst other pretences in the West Indies) layd Claime to Suranam by vertue of a Compact with ye first Setlers. And in Consideracion of his great Disburstments in those parts, And although there was some difference in that point between the Inhabitants and his Lordship, it passed in favour of his Lordship and Laurence Hide, Esq, second Sonn to the Earle of Clarendon, as Lord Proprietors of that Province vnder the Appellacion of Willoughby Land.[1] But Major Byam was Continued Deputy Governor to the

[1] The grant which passed under the Great Seal on May 12th, 1663, was couched in the following terms:—"Whereas Lord Willoughby in 1650 furnished out a vessel, and by treaty with the natives of that part of Guiana called Suriname, began to settle an English colony, and at his own cost equipped a ship of twenty guns and two smaller vessels with things necessary for the support of the said Plantation; and afterwards in 1652, for the better settling of the said colony, went in person and fortified and furnished the same with things requisite for defence and trade, and since his return to England has at his own cost supplied and supported the said colony from time to time . . . His Majesty taking into consideration the faithfull services of the said Lord Willoughby and his desires that Laurence Hyde, second son of Edward, Earl of Clarendon, may be joined with him, grants to them all that part of the mainland of Guiana called Surinam . . . to be held in free and common soccage, and to pay 2,000 lbs. of tobacco of the growth of the said colony into the Custom House at London yearly and one fifth of all ore of gold and silver mined . . ." (*Cal. Col.*, 1661–1668, No. 451. Cf. *ibid.*, Nos. 478, 489, 492.) The inclusion in the grant of Laurence Hyde was a compliment to Lord Willoughby's great friend the Earl of Clarendon. (Cf. *Clarendon MSS.*, Bodleian Vols. 72, 80, 81, 82, 84, *passim.*)

Proprietors, and was Commissionated Lieut. Generall of Guiana.[1]

Anno 1665, The Lord Willoughby Sayled from Barbados to Suranam, and vpon his Lordships Arrivall, a Contagious sickness began at the Towne called Tararica, and spread it selfe all over the Collonie, & swept away many people. Dureing his stay at Suranam, he had like to haue been Murthered by one Mr Allen, who was of opinion his Lordship Coveted his Estate. Mr Allen was charged with Blasphemy before his Lordship arrived in those parts, but Cleared of the fact, yett (in his Lordships sence) held strange opinions, as, that there could be no subjects held Lord Proprietors, because it both slipt the wings of Monarchy, and Infring'd the Liberty of the Subject. Mr Allen cutt of two of the Lord Willoughbys Fingers, and wounded him in The Head, expecting at the same stroake to have slaine him, and afterward poysoned himselfe.[2] Severall People this yeare left Suranam, Strange Jealousies haueing possest them, which brake out into great discontents, which his Lordship indeavoured to sattisfie them in, by a kinde messuage sent to the Collonie, by one Capt. John Parker, which proved effectuall.

f. 41b. The same yeare in the Month of October ye Authoor haueing been Comissionated Commander in cheife of a small Fleet, and a Regiment of Soldiers, for the Attaque

[1] William Byam was an ardent royalist who left England after the Commonwealth troops had taken Bridgewater. In Barbados he supported the Walronds in their intrigues to seize control of the island for the King, and to that end was made Treasurer and Master of the Magazine and Defences. While Governor of Surinam he showed skill and energy, but seems to have imitated to some extent the high-handed measures employed by his fellow-royalists in Barbados. (Cf. Narratives below.)

[2] It was while Willoughby was engaged in this visit to Surinam in order to conciliate some independent spirits there who refused to submit to his proprietorship that De Ruyter attacked Barbados. Writing to Lord Arlington (May 20th, 1665) Willoughby apologised for his absence from the island, explaining that he had been delayed there by reason of a dangerous wound received from " one of the inhabitants who intended to have murdered mee." (C.O. 1/19, No. 60, Public Record Office.)

of the Island Tobago, and severall other settlements, in ye hands of the Netherlanders, on Guiana, as Moroco, Wacopow, Bowroome, and Dissekeeb, and haueing touched at Tobago, in less then six months had the good Fortune to be in possession of those Countries and left them Garisoned for his Majestie of Great Brittaine.[1] He Sayled thence for Barbados, where meeting with ye news of ye Eruption of Warr between the two Crownes of England and France, Endeavoured to perswade Francis Lord Willoughby to reduce those severall small Garrisons into one strong hold, and offered that was the way to make good our Post in those parts, haveing to doe with two potent Enemies. But his Lordship that was his Majesties Capt Generall in those parts, was of another opinion; & before he imbarqued on the vnfortunate Voyage for the Reduceing of St. Christophers, in which designe he Perished by a Hurricane, the wayes he had prescribed for supplyes to the fore mentioned Garrisons proved ineffectuall, and they were lost the yeare following to the Dutch after they had indured great Missery in a Long seige by the French.

In the month of March 1665, Lieutenant Generall Byam in pursuance of an order from Francis Lord Willoughby Commissionated one Capt Peeter Wrath (a Kentish Gentleman) with a party of men and Vessells, to Attaque the Dutch Collonie of Aprowaco, which was prosecuted with Successe. In August following, Capt William Cowell from Suranam tooke the French Collonie

[1] Scott does not state that he found himself forestalled by a force of Jamaican buccaneers under Col. Henry Morgan, who had captured Tobago a few days before Scott's expedition arrived. The buccaneers condescended to leave the fort and the Governor's house unharmed, in return for being allowed to sell their plunder at Barbados; but they untiled the houses and destroyed all they could not carry away, "which hath been their custom in all places." It was due to the energy and tact of Sir Thomas Modyford, Governor of Jamaica, that the buccaneers had been induced to serve for the Crown; but Willoughby was none too pleased to find himself thus forestalled. (*Cal. Col.*, 1661–1668, No. 1124, Willoughby to the King; and No. 1125, Willoughby to Arlington.)

of Sinnamare, sacked the Place and brought them away Prisoners. This yeare the English could boast of the Possession of all that part of Guiana, abutting on the Atlantick Ocean, from Cayan on the South east to Oronoque on the North-west (Except a smal Colonie in the River Berbishus), which is noe lesse then Six hundred English miles.

In February 1666 One Capt. Abraham Crynsens arrived at Surinam, with a Fleet of Seauen Sayle from Zealand,
f. 42. where the Colonie for want of Suplies, and beeing discontented and haueing been greatly afflicted with sharp Sickness and dispaireing of any releife, Surrendered themselves to the High and Puissant States of Zealand vpon the Articles heere to fore Inserted in W^m^ Byams Narrative of the State of Guiana.[1]

Anno 1667 In the Month of Aprill, Capt. Crynsens sayled from Suranam, for the takeing in of the Island Tobago, Leaueing Cap^t^ Ram Commander of his Land Force & Governor for the Lords of Zealand in Surinam.

In August next Henry Willoughby Esq^r^ Commander in Cheife accompanied with S^r^ Iohn Harman, there Land-force one Regiment of Foot. Their Fleet Consisted of nine Sayle, & Departed from Barbados for the Attaque of ye Island Cayan vnder the Command of Monsieur de Leisle, Governor there for the French King. In September following they arrived there ; and the place soone became a Subject of their mercy. They sacked the place, carried away some of ye people Prisoners, but left the greater part Seised of the Island, but little to Defend themselves with against the Natives, as the French have Complayned since.

From thence in October they Sayled to Suranam, A River & Countrey seaventy Leagues Northwest from Cayan, layd close Seige to the Fort by Sea and Land, and after

[1] Printed pp. 199–222 below.

a sharpe encounter (both Sides Sustaining losse) Cap^t^ Ram Governor for the States of Holland was forced to Surrender to the Sayd Henry Willoughby Esq^r^, who in few Dayes left the Colonie, Carrying Cap^t^ Ram and his Soldiers Prisoners to Barbados and leaveing the Fort and Colonie vnder the Command of one Collonel Barry.

In January Henry Willoughby returned from Barbados to Suranam, and there Distroyed some Plantacions, and Removed a great part of the Collonie, to the Island St. Iago, or Antigo ; putt Collonel Barry by his Governement, and Commissionated in his Stead, one Serg^t^ Major James Banister an Inhabitant of the place.

Between the first Retakeing of this Collonie from ye States of Zealand and this month of January, the Lord of Zealand had dispatched to Suranam Divers Ships to *f. 42b.* acertaine their Interest, but were Denyed possession ; at which the States Agents made many Protestacions, and sent home to Zealand many Complaints. Which occassioned the Lords Ambassadors of the Netherlands, then in England, to make their addresses to his Majestie for Repairacion, which after due proofe of the Fact his Majestie Consented to ; and likewise dispatched a second order for the Delivery of the Sayd Province, to which order Will. Lord Willoughby yeilded obedience. And Cap^t^ Abraham Crynsens in the Right of his Masters, The Lords of Zealand, was putt in full possession of all the Province called Willoughby Land ye 30^th^ Aprill 1668.

Thus haueing given an account of all such of ye English, Spanish, French or Dutch Nations as have planted or attempted to plant Collonies on Guiana, from ye yeare 1530 to the yeare 1668, I shall now onely mencion those braue Spaniards, that from the first Discoueries of the West Indies, to the yeare 1647, some with great force others with few followers, haue attempted the Discouery of the many Provinces in the mayne of Guiana, as well up the great River Amazones, as from the Attlantique

Ocean, and from the River Oranoque. Most of which Perished in their Designes, and haue left little behinde them, saueing the Remembrance of their braue undertakeings. I finde them Mencioned in Seuerall Authors of Divers Nations, and many are carefully Collected by Mr. Hakluyt. Viz^{t}.

1. Diego Deordas,
2. Juan Corteza,
3. Jasper d'Sylva,
4. Juan Gonsales,
5. Phillip Duverne,
6. Pedro d'Lympas,
7. Jeromimo d'Ortel,
8. Himenes,
9. Pedro d'Orsua,
10. Father Iala,
11. Hernandez Diserpa,
12. Diego d'Vorgas,
13. Cacerez,
14. Alonzo d'Herera,
15. Antonio Sedenno,
16. Augustine Delgado,
17. Diego d'Lozada,
18. Rineso,
19. Ped. d'Orsua Iuni^{r},
20. Montiseno,
21. Philip d'Fonta,
22. Juan d'Palma.

(ii) "A HAPPIE SHIPWRACK OR THE LOSSE OF A LATE INTENDED VOYAGE BY SEA RECOVERED BY A BREIFE OF THIS EXPERIENCE." (1629).[1]

Qui se habet nihil perdidit.

To the right hono^{ble} William Earle of Pembrooke Lord Steward of his Maiesties household.[2]

Upon the 16th daye of december followeing, the Captaine of the Shipp returned from London wth divers members

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[1] *Ashmolean MSS.* (Bodleian Library), 749, No. II. For help in elucidating and emending the numerous Latin quotations in this manuscript (the Ashmolean copy of which had been transcribed by someone who evidently knew but little Latin), I am indebted to Mr. T. Alan Sinclair, B.A.

[2] William, third Earl of Pembroke, was born in 1580 and died 1630. Though melancholy and given to excesses, he was a great favourite with James I, and was one of "the incomparable pair of brethren" to

of the Companie whoe came purposely as farre as the downes to mediate an agreement, but all in vaine. *Non persuadebis ne si persuaseris quidem*; the Seamen are resolute not to goe at all in o^r^ Governours companie. It seemes their harsh and churlish natures knowe by experience that *Cum inimico nemo in gratiam tuto redit*;[1] whereupon o^r^ Governour p̃swaded himselfe to leave the voyage

Nowe it fell out that I was intreated as a member of the Companie and one of the Councell for those parts, there beinge noe other in Shipp of that quality to keepe the writinge sent from the Company, and to take some oversight of the goods and passengers. The windes then likely to bee faire, would not suffer mee to deliberate upon this motion, but blyndinge my eies w^th^ *facto magis quam consulto opus est*[2] I p^r^sently yeilded, & returned againe to the Shipp on ffriday being the 18^th^ of December following.

Our newe Governour haveing thus left us, I began to read the writings, & a litle to examyne the buisines, wherein I was ingaged according to that rule of St. Barnard in another kinde. *Nullus sit Casus quem non*

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whom Shakespeare inscribed his first folio (1623). He took a leading part in a variety of colonial enterprises. Besides being interested in New England, he became a member of the Council for the Virginia Company in 1609, was one of the incorporators of the North West Passage Company three years later, and in 1626 was one of the promoters of the original Guiana Company. I have omitted from this narrative a pompous and historically unimportant preamble, wherein the author explains to his Lordship the circumstances under which he came to participate in the venture. Apparently the wicked machinations of unscrupulous prelates, "whoe by a sacrilegious errour would make Chuch preferrements the porc̃ons not soe much of Levi as the weaker sexe," had deprived Thornton of his livelihood. He thereupon resolved "to goe this voyage, & eyther to sitt at ffortunes Table, or to gather up the Crummes in a forraigne Countrey." Soon after he boarded the ship, however, a mutiny arose among the crew and prospective settlers, many refusing to sail with the new governor, who had been commissioned to take charge of the colony in Guiana. The disputants then repaired to London to lay their grievances before the Company.

1 "With an enemy no one ever returns to favour in safety."

2 "What is wanted is action not talk."

praeveniat Cogitatio tua,[1] that soe I might bee better able to give satisfaction both to my selfe & others.

The mayne buisines of the Companie at this tyme I found to bee the remoovall of a Colony from the Ryver of Wiapoco to the Ryver of Amazones, both graunted under the same patent, & scituated neerest together, & then the change of a Governour; a buisines fittest for his agitation, whoe knowes *Fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare*.[2]

To remoove the Colonie, or to lessen it in that place stands w^th^ the p^r^sent resolutions of the Court, whose proceedings are farre beyond my censure. And yet when I heare that voyce—

flecte mentem, pectus antiquum advoca[3] I would bee loath to assist the execucon of those designes (whereunto I am not bounde) whereof I cannot app^r^hend the reason. Indeed it is fitt authoritie should bee observed, *Contemptus mors est, et interitus regnorum*. And happilie the Amazones is more hono^ble^ for a capitall plantation then Wiapoco, & *ceteris paribus* will afford more profitt. But that a Colonie (allreadie setled aboue a yeare though contrary to directions) in a place necessary to bee inhabited by the English, (otherwise why should part of them bee p̃mitted to staie there at the Governours discretion), haveing cleered, & planted the ground, made provision for victualls & convenient habitations, acquainted w^th^ the Indians, & noe question by their assistance gotten a p̃fect discoverie of those parts, should nowe bee remooved 200 leagues into the Amazones, destitute p̃happs of such conveniences for the p^r^sent, & whereunto passengers maye be daylie sent hereafter, to make that the cheife & principall Colonie, stands not meethinkes w^th^ any conclusion of profitt or safetie, answereable to the

[1] " There is no situation which thy foresight does not anticipate."
[2] " how to count fortune doubtful and valour sure."
[3] " Turn your mind and call up your ancient courage."

Donald Macbeth. Photo-imp.

(A.D. 1680).

losses & dangers w^ch^ must be susteyned. And then surely it must bee esteemed noe otherwise then like a designe of warre w^ch^ as Suetonius observed from the mouth of Augustus is not to bee undertaken, *nisi cum maior emolumenti spes quam metus damni ostenderetur.*[1]

But now I feare *excessit medicina modum*, this course will bee a punishement not more inflicted upon those in Wiapoco, then upon the whole Companie, whoe in this case are likely to suffer as much by their owne directions, as Captaine Harcourts offence.[2]

1. For first howe can they bee remooved 600 myles by water w^th^out danger of their lyves in that part of their passage by Sea in Shallopps ? And those whoe hazard their

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[1] " except when the hope of gain which is offered is greater than the fear of loss."

[2] Harcourt obtained his original patent in 1613. See *Acts of the Privy Council* (Colonial Series), 1613–1680, No. 3. Whereas Robert Harcourt " Desireth Letters Pattents from his majestie of a parte of Guyana in the West Indies, haueinge heretofore with greate travaile & Charge discovered that Contry & inhabited there by himself & his freinds for the space of these three or foure yeares last past and still houldeth the possession thereof without impeachment or interruption, whereby he hopeth in shorte tyme to plante that Contry with his majesties Subiects to the greate benefitt of this Kingdome by the increase of Trade, & the reduceinge of that People to civility of life & Christianity," the Solicitor General is accordingly instructed to prepare such a patent ready for his majesty's signature. On March 16th, 1619, this grant was called in on the appeal of Capt. Roger North and his associates, on the ground that they themselves wished to establish a colony in Guiana and that Harcourt had neither maintained his own settlement there nor would agree to be bought out by them. (*Ibid.*, Nos. 35, 36, 39.) On May 23rd, 1620, this Company, entitled " The Gouernor & Companie of Noblemen, & Gentlemen of the Cittie of London, Adventurers in & about the Riuer of the Amazons," was compelled to surrender its charter, owing to the influence of the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar. (*Ibid.*, No. 58.) The Guiana Company referred to in the present manuscript was incorporated on May 19th, 1626. With this Company Harcourt was induced to join forces. " Captain Harcote," we are told, " (was) now willing to surrender his grant, and to joyne with Captaine North in passing a new Patent, & to erect a Company for trade & plantation in the Amazon & all the Coast & Countrey of Guiana for ever . . . Whereupon they have sent this yeare (*i.e.*, 1629) in Januarie & since 1628, foure ships with neere two hundred persons. Of the first ship with 112 men, not one miscarried ; the rest went since (& are) not yet heard of, & (they) are preparing another with their best expedition." (*Capt. John Smith's Works*, Chap. 23, Ed. Arber, *op. cit.*) This last was probably the expedition with which the writer of this manuscript was concerned.

lyves soe much for soe litle advantage, are noe wiser then those whoe fish w^th^ a golden hooke, *Cuius abrupti damnum nulla captura pensari potest.*[1]

2. If all of them bee remooved to the Amazones, then wee loose their labours heeretofore spent in plantinge, in makinge sugar workes, in fortifications, & the like. *Certa amittimus dum incerta petimus*,[2] meethinkes his resolution was better; *spem precis non emam.*[3] And if the greater part of them bee onely removed, the remaynder, beinge not much above 50 in nomber, wilbee in as great danger to bee destroyed by the natyves, as those 60 Dutchmen whoe not long since lost their lyves in the same place. *Diuidens quod unum validissimum erat, utrunque reddidit imbecillius*,[4] was spoken of the Romane Empire, & meethinkes might well have beene a direction in this case, eyther to remove all or none.

3. But I feare this is not all the Company will suffer, *gravissimi sunt morsus irritatae necessitatis*,[5] when they in Wiapoco shall fynde the effect of this order, the Copy whereof is here inserted.

> 'Octo: 16. It is ordered that such provisions as are sent to any of the Colony at Wiapoco shalbee kept at the Amazones till they come thether for them, or as they shalbee disposed unto them, accordinge to such orders & instructions as are nowe sent by the Companie in the good Shipp called the *Exchange*.'

And when by vertue of this order, they shall see that noe provisions eyther publicke or priuate are sent to supplie their wants, w^ch^ noe question wilbee great by

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[1] "the loss of which if it be broken cannot be compensated by any catch of fish."

[2] "We have lost a certainty in pursuit of an uncertainty."

[3] "I will not buy the hope of a prayer."

[4] "Dividing the one strong thing they had they made both weaker."

[5] "Very grievous are the bites of angered necessity."

that time, haveing beene arrived in those partes ever since the 17th of ffebruary 1628: as though that were a paradox *nonnunquam necessitati quae pars rationis est parendum.*[1]

When likewise they shall heare that noe provisions at all must bee sent to anie of them, till there bee some intelligence of their affaires returned to the Governour in the Amazones, and that hee giue leave for part of them to abide at Wiapoco, wch cannot be dispatched wthout great expence of tyme, it is likely they wilbee of that generous nature & number whereof Seneca speakes. *Qui acquiore animo ferunt perscidi spem suam quam trahi*; wch had rather loose their hopes altogether, then bee tortured wth delayes, wch experience hath founde out to bee nothinge else, but wise denyalls, the next waie to dispaire, the strongest motyve to revenge. And then I wish it bee not propheticall,—*Clausis in desperatione crescit audacia, et cum spei nihil est, sumit arma Cupido*:[2] that either they will generally concurre against the rules of authority nowe prscreibed (notwthstandinge their covenante to the contrarie) & rather trafficke wth their Flemmings whoe use those parts & can speedilie supplie their wants,[3] than send their comodities home into England, especially in this Shipp called the *Exchange*, wch will not staye in the River wth them above tenne daies, & must not bringe them anie supplyes at all, but only directions for better conformitie; as though it were not *perdifficile ad carentem auribus ventrum verba facere.*[4] Indeede had a bill & a hooke gone both together, the remedie had been more seasonable, & therefore more hopefull.

[1] " We sometimes must obey necessity, which is a part of reason."

[2] " To those imprisoned by despair courage increases, and when there is no hope, passion takes arms."

[3] For a detailed account of the Dutch trading activities in Guiana at this time, see Dr. Edmundson's articles " The Dutch on the Amazon and Negro in the 17th Century " (*E.H.R.*, Oct., 1903, and Jan., 1904) and " The Dutch in Western Guiana " (*ibid.*, Oct., 1901).

[4] " very difficult to talk to a belly without ears."

Whereas *Intempestiva remedia delicta accendunt*,[1] unseasonable corrections are manie tymes the cause of greater mischeifes ; and this distast will breed some bitter factions—*publica belli semina quae populos mersere potentes*,[2] & the rather because some of them, & those of the best ranke, are alreadie much displeased & very ill affected towards some amongst us, whoe beare the greatest Swaye in these affayres. And wee knowe *tenax iniuriarum memoria*, the remembrance of former unkindnes will easily stirre up an apprhension of prsent iniuries, & make them more apt by these proceedings to suspect (what I wish maie not bee found) an affectation of priuate honour & p̃sonall revenge, then to conforme themselves to authoritie, especially as the case will then stand wth the prsent state of that governement.

And now by the waie lett mee appeale to all the world, if that order were so charitable as it might have been, wch will not suffer anie provision to bee sent to those, whoe (notwthstandinge) must come to the Amazones, & yet they cannott well come thether wthout some provision, *male cuncta ministrat impetus*.[3] Had there beene sent them wth all expedition at least their owne priuate possessions of strong waters, very requisite in those hott Countries, & other necessaries to supplie their wants for the prsent till they could dispose of their affaires, & in case they remove to comfort & releeve them by the waie, the proceedings had beene more according to the rules of charitie wch requires not her own, & the successe more hopefull. *Saepe Flectit humanitas quae nec virtus potuerat superare nec ratio*,[4] was the Sayinge of an auncient Father whose profession taught the rules of

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[1] " unreasonable remedies increase the disease."

[2] " the seeds of war which have brought low mighty peoples."

[3] " Impulse manages everything badly."

[4] " Kindness often moves what neither valour nor reason can overcome."

charitie, & whose experience found the true effects of it. And noe question it is a better pollicie in places soe remote, where Coñandes are of lesser power, to enioyne a removall by faire meanes, rather than to enforce by extremities.

———peragt tranquilla potestas
quod violenta negat, mandataque fortius urget
imperiosus amor———[1]

especially when by such extremities all in the Colony must suffer for that w^ch^ is taken & soe reputed to bee but the offence of one.

Whereupon meethinkes the best waie to make the Colony remove at this time (if that bee soe necessarie) must bee the same w^ch^ Fabius tooke to overcome Hannibal, *vici ego Hannibalem dum vincere prohibui ut vobis quorum nunc sunt vires vinci possit*,[2] but yet w^th^ some difference, for what kind of force is requisite will bee a further question. Surely perswasions of freinds are too weake & will have this Answere returned,—

Ah nimium quod, amice, petis moderatius opta.[3]

Coñanndes are too farre off when Jealousies are soe neere; & vyolence is too costly, whether it bee against them all, or w^th^in themselues; *Melius est praevenire pericula quam invenire victorias.*

What then? there remaynes onely that whereby freindshipp in these daies is most of all esteemed & obedience Swayed, *Coñunis utilitas societatis maximum vinculum*;[4] till that maie appeare to them in all respecte of safetie, & that there bee a palpable evidence of greater & more generall profitt (though it bee not good to bee altogether silent), because *Inducit maximum illecebram peccandi*

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[1] "Quiet power accomplishes what violent power refuses and overmastering love more eagerly tasks performs."

[2] "I have overcome Hannibal by not allowing him to overcome us, so that he may be overcome by you who now have the strength."

[3] "O desire more moderately that which you seek too keenly."

[4] "Common interest is the greatest bond of society."

impunitatis spes.[1] Yet Surelie it is much better to bee lesse violent in this particular of theire sodaine remoovall, rather then expose whoe had never beene chosen for desert, but the necessity of the times. But notw^th^standinge, the next Governours Coñission must goe on, & the buisines must bee prosequuted, as though hee had dyed by the waie. Indeede had hee dyed by the waie, there had beene noe possibilitie of better directions. And then not to goe on, (being gone soe farre) had beene *Cum ratione insanite*, either foolishnes, or treacherie. And nowe goinge forward, it must arrive in Guiana w^th^out a head, (& soe it might then bee taken in another sence for it was not the Companie, but a priuate member whoe at first gave that direction). There this newe Coñission was to bee published, first to declare Cap^t^ Harcourts authority void, w^th^out w^ch^ there could bee noe further proceedings, (w^ch^ likewise made void the Coñission for M^r^ Clovill & M^r^ Hixson if anie such were founde there, for *infida est Societas regni*), And then to establish a Councell in the Amazones whose directions they in Wiapoco were to followe. Nowe the governem^t^ must bee transfferred by waie of election amongst o^r^selues upon a p^r^sident, the electo^rs^ all of the Councell, of w^ch^ nomber those in Wiapoco (though offenders) were to continue if they came to the Amazones, *utilis Clementiae fama.* In the meane while if the election were made before they came, they might take exceptions, & perhapps study to bee revenged on them, whoe made soemuch expedition.

Quaeque succensas agit libido mentes.[2] And if the election were not made before they came, there seemed to bee a bodie w^th^out a governement, the Councell in the Amazones haveing noe other power, then to give directions to those in Wiapoco, w^ch^ directions in all likelyhood

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[1] "The hope of impunity is a great inducement to wrong."

[2] "Minds once roused are driven on by every passion."

would be interpreted of noe other nature, then to intimate the vacancie of the Governours place, the pleasure of the Companie in England, & the tyme of election. But in case of difference amongst themseules, or anie other buisines of waight, each man especially of the Councell, for ought appeares to the contrarie, might pleade for his owne libertie that of Ausonius, *Aequalitas ordinem nescit pati*.[1] And in case some man of quallitie were chosen to hold the governement till they came from Wiapoco, yet after their cominge, if the same p^r^sident beinge the first that ever was chosen, were not contynued in his place, hee might take it ill; if hee were, they might take it worse, *regnandi dira Cupido*. What divisions this might breed, they knowe best, whoe understand the nature of governement, & the authority (w^ch^ in generall is observed) to the hazard of denyall. *Cautis quam acrioribus Consiliis potentia tutius habetur*.[2]

The other mayne buisines at this tyme is to change a Governour. To remoove a Colony was difficult in itselfe, & by w^th^holding supplies made lesse possible; but nowe the Coñission must bee taken awaie from Captaine Harcourt whoe alone had most of these large Territories graunted by Patent to him & his heires forever, & afterwards resigned them to bee animated by this noble Societie.[3] But going to Wiapoco when hee was directed to the Amazones, hee hath offended the Companie, & for this cause accordinge to that rule of Tacitus, *Nova Cupientibus auferatur Dux et auctor*,[4] Hee alone must bee deprived of authoritie in those partes, and returne into England, though it be declared under the hande of the Councell, that hee was the last whoe gave consent

[1] "Equality will not tolerate rank."

[2] "Power is better held by safe than by brilliant counsels."

[3] Cf. footnote on p. 151 above.

[4] "Give no guide or leader to revolutionary spirits."

to that enterprize ; ffrom whence I wish others would not thinke upon that of Seneca.

Qui statuit aliquid parte inaudita altra,
aequum licet statuerit, haud aequus fuerit.[1]

For my part I make noe other conclusion but only this, that eyther Capt. Harcourt was very powerfull w^th^ the rest, or the rest very willinge to goe to Wiapoco. And then it must needs followe, that either they will bee very loath to part w^th^ Cap^t^ Harcourt whome they soemuch observed before, or very obstinate to bee w^th^drawne from that place, w^ch^ they themselues soe much desired. Howesoever his Comission must be taken awaie, *In servitutem cadere de regno graue est.* And yet the punishment is greater, because the nowe intended Governour hath desisted from the voyage, an accident w^ch^ fell out upon the English shoare, & might well have brought backe againe the p^r^sent buisines & affaire of that governement to a further consideration, *Consilia nova pro novis rebus.* For from that rule *vicit ratio parcendi ne sublata spe veniae pertinacia accenderetur*,[2] the personne of a newe Governour had beene best to take awaie the authoritie of the old, that soe it might bee thought, the change is made not soemuch out of displeasure to the one as favour to the other, unless it were certeyne that his power & favour w^th^ the rest were as easily cutt off as his authority. Otherwise wee cannot thinke that Captaine Harcourt seated in the height of ffortunes long expected w^th^ much patience & greater expence, should nowe discend w^th^out a noyse before himselfe bee heard, and not bee obstinate to w^th^stand an interiour tytle of governement (for soe it will prove) raised by his ruines, and perhapps amongst those under his owne comand, Jealousies of discontented

[1] " He who has made a decision without hearing all sides, though he may have given a just decision, will not be a just judge."

[2] " the system of giving pardon has prevailed lest if all hope were removed wantonness should be increased."

p̃sons. Sure I am *Invidia regni etiam inter domesticos infida omnia atque infesta facit.*[1]

But heere is not all *dubia plus torquent mala*; it was not then knowne, neyther could it bee p^{r}sumed, that Mr. Clovill & Mr. Hixson wth their Companie were arrived in the Amazones.[2] Whereupon manie of the passengers tooke notice that haveing lost a Governour by the waie, & p̃happs fyndinge none there, they had not one amongst themselues capable of that place, none being capable but one of the Councell, & there being none of the Councell, but myselfe uncapable by reason of my callinge. *Velle suum cuique est, nec voto viuitur uno*;[3] though some were troubled, others perhapps were ioyefull wth a supposed libertie of doeigne what they list in those partes.

And nowe the difficulty of the buisines being inlarged, the uncerteynetie of governement made the proceedings seeme desperate, w^{ch} beinge murmured abroad by o^{r} long stayinge in the Downes, I founde my selfe by many priuate passages *vulgus fingendi avidum*, either accused of weakenes in not consideringe, or suspected for some notorious offender in goeinge forward this voyage. And thefore tyme it was to take that aduice

——*primo in limine siste*
Conatus scelera atque animos infanda parantes.[4]

Whereupon remembering that wisee direction, *amo caute descendentes in pericula*, I beganne to recollect my selfe, & on the xith of January followinge, I referred the sũme of these exceptions in a priuate letter to the

[1] "Jealousy of the ruling authority creates an atmosphere of danger and distrust even in private families."

[2] Capt. Smith (*Works*, Chap. XXIII, *op. cit.*) relates that two brothers, Thomas and William Hixon, had previously spent three years in Guiana and were gone to settle permanently "in the ships lately (*i.e.*, in 1629) sent thither."

[3] "Every man's will is his own and life is not lived for one wish only."

[4] "At the very outset check your plots and your mind which is framing nameless crimes."

consideration of a worthy member the Treasurer for the Company (one whome since I understand was never willinge to have the Colony removed, but offered to tender his reasons in writinge to the contrary). I made knowne likewise my owne resolution to returne, for *istuc est sapere qui ubicunque opus sit animum possit Flectere.*[1] And that p̃happs I would bring back the writings of the Companie intimatinge their pleasure, hopeing as I then exp^rssed to gyve as a good reason for their returne, as my owne, & w^th asmuch satisfaction as any that did oppose it. And this I did the rather p^rsume of in regard *Consilia ad euentus et tempora accomodanda.*[2] The case as it then stood had never beene publickly discussed before the Companie, for meethought it seemed strange, that the grave resolutions of the Co^rt, signed w^th yo^r Lo^ps hand, should be conveyed after such a meane & uncerteyne manner, & that to an end, promisinge soemuch difficulty & soe little advantage. Surely as the Case stood, *non cursum eundem tenere oportet, sed portem,*[3] it seemed better & more hon^ble to take some other course for the p^rsent.

This priuate letter it seemes was reade to the Companie, whoe by reason of other p̃ticulers concerninge o^r wants were pleased in a publicke letter to returne some satisfaction. But one of the Companie (remembringe that before my departure from London I dislyked the inaequalitie of some proceedings about servants, & nowe fyndinge my Judgement differinge from his owne, *hinc illae lackrimae,* & therefore an instrum^t very unfitt for his designes) conveyed this letter priuately to the Captaine of the Shipp, notw^thstandinge it was directed to mee by name, that thereby hee might reade it openly w^thout giueinge mee anie notice of it before, or the keepinge of

[1] " he is really wise who can change his mind whenever there is need."

[2] " plans (are) to be made to fit events and circumstances."

[3] " one ought to keep the same goal, not the same course."

it after, the copy whereof I have procured since my cominge to London, & heere sett downe.

'Wee the Governour & Companie of Noblemen & Gentlemen of England for the plantation of Guiana have receyved a letter from Mr Thornton, And doe desire that hee proceede accordinge to the directions given him by Captaine North & Mr Blenerhassett. Wee have intreated Capt. North to write to Capt. Smith to renewe the outward bound store of *Aqua vitae*, wch or passengers have spent. For other wants of or Companie wee knowe none in p̃ticuler, Captaine Duppa beinge bounde by Charterparte to provyde for or Companie all necessary victualls, & wch hee hath nowe upon Mr Thornton's letter taken order for. And if it shall happen that upon the landinge in the Amazones of or men nowe sent, you shall fynd neither Sr Olyver Chyney, nor Mr Willm Clovell, nor Mr Thomas Hixson, nor others (other then Captaine Harcourt) formerly authorised for governement, wee doe hereby authorise you nowe sent (wch shall arrive there) to choose one of yorselues to bee President, & governe in all things accordinge to or former directions for governement, untill such tyme as Sr Olyver Cheyney, Mr Willm Clovell or Mr Thomas Hixson, or some other formerly appointed by us for governement shall come thether, & assume the governement, Provyded that it shalbee in or power to revoke or authoritie hereby, giuen at or pleasure. Given under the Seale of one of the members of or Companie wch wee nowe use for or Coñon Seale this 12 of January 1629.[1]

To Mr Richard Thornton Clerke & all other of or men nowe transported in the good shipp called the *Exchange* bound for the Amazones.'

Thus the mayne buisines in poynt of governement being made more certeyne upon occasion of my exceptions, & seeinge my other obiections answered by Silence, & that

[1] *i.e.*, 1630 new style.

I was intreated by publicke directions to proceede, answereable to those priuate directions wch I had formerly received, I became inclynable to goe forward the voyage prsumeinge upon the sufficiencie of secrett reasons wch perhapps might bee priudiciall to those whoe like wise Politicians, *Tandem occulto magis tramite quam aperta via petunt.*[1] And indeed the good of that plantacon, the pleasure of the Companie, & the love of my first resolution prvailed wth mee to goe on, & being certeyne of a Governour (though perhapps a meane one) to meete all other difficulties in the face, *tendit in ardua virtus.*

But by the manner of conveyinge this letter, I haue an evident Argument of Jealousie, & that I was likelie to suffer for spendinge my Judgement after a fayre & indifferent manner. And therefore not knoweinge the effecte of Jealousie *ad peiora Credendum procliuis*, wch comonly is very prone to take offence where there is noe occasion, nor being able to foresee howe my reputation & freedome of returne might bee inthralled by the displeasure of authoritie in those forraigne parts, I resolued to be prouided after the best manner I could against such inconveniences. And accordingly I first tooke my just exceptions, and then desired to bee satisfied in some ptticulers wherein (contrary I prsume to the will of the Company) I found my selfe too much sleighted, & for that purpose made bold to returne this Answere.

The Copie of a letter

'To the right hoble the Comittee for the Governour & Company of Noblemen & Gentlemen for the plantation of Guiana.

Right hoble as it becomes not mee to expostulate the proceedings of sup(e)riours, soe I must not bee insensible of disrespecte, when I knowe I have giuen noe occasion of anie: It hath pleased yor care of

[1] "really prefer to go by a secret path than by the open road."

the passengers to send them this last weeke a letter of instructions. It came amongst other letters to Capt. Smith, whoe it seemes was appointed by some priuate intimation (I p^rsume none of yo^r owne) to reade it openly at prayer tyme, & not to vouchsafe mee the p̃usall, or anie notice of it at all, before the publishinge. Afterwards when I demanded it to consider upon, & to laye up w^th the rest of yo^r writings of greater importance, I founde an absolute denyall, as though the whole carriage of the Message were purposely intended to disgrace mee amongst the passengers, whereof manie tooke notice, & cannott but wonder howe it comes to passe, that yo^r instructions should bee w^thheld from my custodie, to whome by speciall name they are directed. As for the contents of yo^r letter (soe farre as I remember) they have taken awaie the greatest cause of my complaints in the behalfe of yo^r servants, but to my selfe adds more discontent then before. For whereas you giue power to choose a Governour amongst o^rselues in case wee fynde none in the Amazones, heere (under favour) I cannott but thinke it a great disparagement to my place & discretion, that a Minister amongst passengers of such meane qualitie, much more being a member of yo^r Companie & appointed by yo^r selues one of the Councell for those parts, should not have (by vertue & speciall com̃and of yo^r letters) a greater stroake in that election then the meanest in the Companie. And as for supplies that letter w^ch gave you notice of the passengers wants (for w^ch you have taken some order) made likewise a modest intimation of my owne, whereof you are not pleased to take any notice at all, Indeed I should not have beene soe bold had I knowne w^ch way for the p^rsent to haue beene releeved, otherwise then w^th this p^rsumption that a Minister undertakinge the voyage, w^thout any conditions at all daylie exercisinge his callinge for the good of yo^r servants, haveing never beene at Sea before, & lyveing after a temperate manner, should not bee denyed conveniences for health or dyett above the rate of com̃on passengers, especiallie being soe farre from his owne Countrey, &

haveing stayd soe long (almost tenne weekes) in this griping place. But nowe haveing soemuch discouragement in the waie I can hardly promise my selfe any content in the end, but have some cause to feare that in the same letter wch forbidds mee the custodye of yors directed to my selfe, there are some priuate snares secretly lurkinge to entrappe mee hereafter to my greater priudice. And therefore I must humblie intreate to bee excused from this voyage at this tyme, unless I maie bee supplyed wth money to prouide some priuate store of fresh victualls for my owne dyett in case of sicknes, or any other distemper, And then that I maye bee recoñended to the Colony in a speciall manner, whereby my creditt maie bee redeemed, wch nowe suffers, & that I may have the libertie to returne at my owne pleasure by a speciall order under yor hande. For wch purpose I intend to staie aboard the Shipp till the next returne of the Carrier, in hope you will vouchsafe an Answere to

Yor Honors in all due observance,
R. T.'

Nowe were my thoughts much troubled wth expectation of supplyes & the feare of fayre windes wthout better satisfaccon, & yet I had tyme to remember, that once I was offered my owne conditions, if I would goe this voyage. But I then refused to make anie contract at all, the better to exprsse my affection to the buisines & the reputation of my callinge. *Verus amor praemium non requirit sed meretur.*[1] Afterwards when I was made a member of the Companie, & upon my departure desired a proportion of servants answereable to my adventure of him whome I thought had beene trusted wth such distributyve Justice, it was answered I spake too late, I must provyde my selfe—*quantum mutatus ab illo.*

I am now suffered to erre for my good will, & my too much confidence is requited wth an apparant losse of my owne

[1] "True love deserves reward but does not ask for it."

right, & a tacite imputation of carelessenes; but the best is *Credulitas error magis est quam culpa et quidem in optimi Cuiusque mentem irrepit facillime.*[1] However this sodaine change made mee a litle stumble at the buisines, & would have broaken my designe at that time, had not my importunity in this p̃ticuler been by him a litle answered, & a request of another nature graunted from the Companie, not of charge but favour, w^ch^ hetherto contynued my patience in token of thankfullnes.

On Shipboard there is noe provision of dyett purposely made, but for co̅mon passengers, the Seamens faire, not to bee rellished w^th^out custome or extremity of hunger. And rather then bee wedded to that alone especially in hott Countryes, I am of Athenaeus mynde, whoe suppinge in Sparta said, *Millies potius moriturum* (*si quis sibi mente constaret*) *quam tam vilis et aerumnosi victus Co̅munionem.*[2] But this great distast was more feared, then as yet perceyved, there beinge some fresh meate afforded out of courtesie, & procured by the strength of priuate purses, w^ch^ lasted not long. For when the Captaine of the Shipp went the second tyme to London, wee had beene neere a Moneth on Shipboard, w^ch^ caused a generall fayle of money, wherew^th^ none usuallie provyde themselves in such kynde of voyages, but for supplyes on their owne Coast. Hereupon desireinge to make some priuate prouision on Shipboard, I writt a letter to a member of the Companie whose fayre promises heretofore I thought would not have taught a denyall *qui tacite rogat docet negare.* But all in vaine, his cominge downe about the difference affords noe other satisfaccon but the payement of a weekes chardges on shoare

[1] " credulity is rather a mistake than a crime and easily creeps into the mind even of the best."

[2] " that he would rather die a thousand deaths (if one were to be consistent) than have the sharing of such cheap and wearisome fare."

at that time, where I remayned by reason of the quarrell, & soe I became dismissed to the shipp w^th^ the oversight of manie passengers, & the burden of a light purse, small meanes of comfort to relieve us, if occasion serve.

Nescit quo valeat nummus quem praebeat usum.[1]

This I maie affirme none can iudge what use there is of money in those salvage places, whose experience hath not beene seasoned w^th^ salt water & his owne wants.

Quisquis habet nummos secura nauigat aura.[2]

But the wyndes are not yet favourable, & o^r^ longer staye in the Downes sharpens his appetite, whoe must bee supplyed or p^r^iudice his owne health. For strong waters are farre spent, & the little shipp thronged with manie passengers (more then were sent) is become very noysome by reason of wett & very unseasonable weather. All of us seeme to bee of that Countrey whose Inhabitants (as some writers affirme) sell not onely their goods & cloathes, but their children *tanquam pecora*, naie many times themselues *ut apud diuites saturentur cibis*[3]; whereof there was woefull experience the next weeke after my departure. Some passengers had necessaries sent them from their freinds, & haveing noe money to paie for their carriage were importunate w^th^ mee, *quo me vertam nescio*, had it not beene the speciall courtesie of a priuate gent (lyveing in those partes) willinge to giue creditt for a little sum̃e as a Newe Yeares guift p^r^sumeinge to bee repayd by the Companie. All the Twelve dayes had beene feasted w^th^ heavie hearts & light purses, at w^ch^ tyme though there was a priuate letter sent for the repayement of that debt (w^ch^ was a second intimation of want); yet all the Answere could be procured for ought appeares to mee was *ne*

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1 "He knows neither the worth nor the use of money."

2 "Whoever has money sails with a safe wind."

3 "that they may be surfeited with good in the houses of the rich."

verbum quidem. Upon this discourtesie I made a third onsett after a priuate manner, though not to the same p̃tie, & (as the world maie see) there is a little satisfaction returned to others, none to myselfe—*cuique repulsa grauis.*[1]

Whereupon that I might not bee an example of disparagement to my callinge in beinge respected noe better, then a coñon passenger, I addrest my selfe in a publicke manner to the whole Coñittee for those necessary supplies, w^ch^ are more easily graunted, then asked by any man of Ingenuity.

Nam miserum est patria amissa, laribusque vagari
mendicum, et timida voce rogare cibos.[2]

But it maie bee this discouragement by the waye wilbee recompensed by some speciall content in the end, whereof lett others iudge. There is an order made to see that the Ministers performe their duties, but their distinct proportion of maineteynance from others is eyther left to a further consideration at home, or referr'd to the pleasure of the Governour abroad, & their owne deserts whereof (forsooth) those must iudge, whoe p̃happs had rather bee pleased then edifyed by anie sacred directions. Meethinkes when priuate men are by generall directions appoynted gentlemen sharers, the Ministers likewise accordinge to their places should bee respected by the same consideration. But since those late instructions were drawne up by a priuate member, whoe had speciall order from the Court to consider of all deserts, I wish the Church a better Advocate, then eyther his Judgement or his favour, whoe alreadie murmures at their example, whoe beinge priuate planters intend to paie their tythes. And none spendinge my Judgement freelie, & takinge notice

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[1] "a rebuff vexes everyone."

[2] "For it is a wretched fate, country and home lost, to wander a beggar and ask for food with timid voice."

of these & such like passages, some p̃happs (as I then thought) will not esteeme mee worthie of anie priuate prouision, or a speciall letter of recom̃endations to the Colonie, or the libertie to returne at my owne pleasure, that soe I might bee eyther disswaded from goeinge at all, least I should discover other faults heereafter, or (being there) more punished by losse of hopes & freedome for speakeinge soe plainlie alreadie. *Destinatio vindictae si facultas oriretur.*[1]

And nowe the daie of expectation was come, beinge Saturday the 23th of January, the first daie of the eleventh weeke since my goeinge on Shipboard. But I founde noe Answere of my letter at all, a daie of comfort considering those weekes of sorrowe, whereof the Minister for his paines had the tenth a ioyfull daye incouraginge my former resolution to returne, for wch imediately I prpared my selfe, & went to Canterbury the same night, being muched (*sic*) wth a great losse of time, many expences, & more experience of this truth,

pollicitis diues quilibet esse potest.[2]

On Tuesday followeinge I came to London, where I understood the noble intendemente of the Companie were very willinge to satisfie my expectation, but at that time they wanted leasure to meete *Tarda sunt quae in Com̃une expostulantur*,[3] or wth I rather beleeve his sollicitation, whoe could hinder it. And nowe fyndinge from some manie free exprssions of respect & sorrowe that I was noe better accomodated, & hearinge that a gentleman of speciall rancke was desirous to goe the voyage at this tyme, better Companie then I left on Shipboard, whose choice it seemes was noe otherwise then as Lyptius observed out of Livi, *pecuniola proponitur tympanum*

[1] "A determination to punish him if an opportunity occurred."
[2] "Anyone can be rich in promises."
[3] "It is a slow business when matters are put before a committee."

strepet, et ecce coeunt aliquot ignote inter se, ignorantesque.[1] I was once more p̃swaded to goe the voyage; & yet I am of his Judgement *ne utiquam mihi placet quando nulla cogat res cõmittere se fortunae.*[2] The wyndes are turned fayre, & there is newes come that the shippes are gone awaie, whereby I became disingaged, & that I hope w^tn this acknowledgement from the whole Companie, *Honeste servit, qui succumbit tempori.*[3]

Nowe I had tyme to bethinke my selfe what service upon my returne was best to doe for the publicke good, that soe I might not bee thought in matters of waight & difference more able to oppose, then resolve, accordinge to that rule of St. Ambrose *In disputationibus square velle non vincere quisque debet.*[4] And therefore haveing oportunity on Shipboard to viewe the writings, & fyndinge by experience some deserts, I made bold to p^rsent divers motions to the Companie at the last generall Court, w^ch for want of leasure could not bee read at that time. Afterwards the Company being mett at Whitehall, I layed them at Yo^r Lo^ps feete, & that (I hope) in effect accordinge to his language in Plautus.

> *Iustam rem et facilem esse oratam a vobis volo*
> *nam iuste a iustus, iustus sum Orator datus.*[5]

But yo^r Lordships' occasions referringe them to another daie, they have since been heard openlie, & I p^rsume will hereafter bee taken into better consideracon. And because it maye bee thought they reflect upon some

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[1] "a penny is paid and a drum beaten, and lo, several people come together unknown to and not knowing each other."

[2] "It is no pleasure to me to trust to luck unless circumstances compel me."

[3] "He is a good servant who bows to circumstances."

[4] "In argument each man ought to try not to be victorious, but to be right."

[5] "I want a just and straightforward cause to be pleaded by you, and justly by just men, for I am a just speaker come before you."

priuate member as a wronge I most humblie appeale to yo^{r} Lo^{p}.

Esto mihi solus arbiter rerum iure et nomine regis.[1]

A Copy of divers motions
p^{r}ferr'd at a gen^{r}all Court.

'In the first place

Whereas this ho^{ble} Co^{rt} gaue order by their instructions lately sent to the Colonyes in Guiana to see that the Ministers discharge their dutyes,"

My humble motion is that considering the perverse & deboyst[2] behaviour of many passengers usuallie sent into those & such like parts, & the barbarous condition of the Natyves, you would likewise thinke it worthy of yo^{r} best Councells to recommend the callinge of Ministers & their p̃sons to the speciall respect of the Colonyes, & wthall to appoint them a distinct proportion of shares answerable to the dignitie of their places, whereby they may bee more intent upon the duties of their callinge, & avoyde all appearance of covetousnes, or improvidence.

And in like manner it were noe unseasonable motion that not onely Ministers, but all of the Councell, & whoe are principall officers in those parts (from whome this Co^{rt} will expect a true relation of all occurrents) may haue a different proporcon of shares sett downe answereable to their generall imployem^{ts}, lest being Stipendaryes at pleasure, they become eyther factious amongst themselues, or fflatterers of those that are in authoritie.

2. Motion.

2^{ly} Whereas the thirde of all profitts is reserved by this Co^{rt} for the body of the Company & th' other twoe thirds appointed for the planters,

My motion is that eyther the planters whoe goe in p̃son maye enioye the benefitt of this order wholy

[1] "Be to me the only judge in the king's name and under his laws."
[2] *i.e.*, debauched.

or soly to themselues for their better encouragement, or if any will goe as servants for wages, that then they maie bee bounde by Indenture to the body of the Companie, & not to any priuate member.

And in this case of servants thus bound to the Companie, if it bee not thought fitt to increase the ioynt stocke by the overplus of their shares (if any such remayne their wages being first deducted) then that this Co^{rt} would order at their best leasure.

1. That every member of the Companie maie bee assigned a proportion of servants answereable to his adventure, & according to the nomber of servants w^{ch} are or shall hereafter bee sent into those parts, hee p̃forminge those Covenants to his servants, for w^{ch} the Company stand ingaged by Indenture.

2. That in the distribution of this proportion every member bee respected according to the tyme of his admission, the other descendinge from the first to the last & then beginninge againe.

3. That the Governour & every man of speciall qualitie (though hee bee not an adventurer) maye have a proportion of servants assigned to him answereable to his place & callinge.

4. That a good stipend bee allowed some principall member from the body of the Companie for the managinge of this & other affaires belonginge to the Colonyes.'

Reasons

For by the meanes of Servants (by whome profitt will arise after this manner if att all) each member of the Companie upon everie returne maye receive some profitt, & bee more willinge to have the ioynt stocke contynuallie increased by the thirde due unto the Company, (there beinge some satisfaction daylie giuen to him another waye) whereby hee shall not bee wearied out wth expectation & delaies, as the members of other Companies have beene.

And this likewise by an aequall distribution of Servants noe one member (notwthstanding his residence in London, or his experimentall knowledge of the buisines, or his

authority amongst the Colonyes) can ingrosse to himselfe a greater number of servants than his due proportion to the prıudice of any other of the same Companie though a meere stranger to the proceedings.

And thus Servants being bound to the Companie, every man resident in those partes will bee more willinge to labour in his profession for any one of his fellowe Servants, & bee better secured of reward answereable to his condition, & others more encouraged to goe thither, the creditt of the Companie being more to bee esteemed then any priuat mans.

And thus the fame & equity of all these proceedings concerninge Servants will cause a continuall discourse of or affaires in all places of this Kingdome, especially where any adventurers lyve, & thereby become a great motive to pswade others to bee of that Company, whose designes are soe remarkeable not only for profitt, but alsoe for wisedome & iustice in the governement.

3. Motion.

3ly 'My motion is that perticuler names of all Servants together wth their seuerall Masters, & all passengers sent into those parts maye bee inrolled in the publicke bookes of record, as it was heretofore ordered by the Cort, but as yet hath taken noe effect at all.

4. Motion.

4ly That all resident in those parts belonginge to the Capitall plantation may allowe some proportion of dutyes for the maineteynance of the Governour & other officers, & that there maye bee an order made for the lawfull demaundinge of the same.

5. Motion.

5ly That all particuler plainters maie bee bound prsently upon their arrivall to ingrosse their writings of agreement betwixt themselues & the Company in a publicke office erected in those parts, & yearely to paie some small tribute to the Governour in acknowledgement of the capitall plantation.

6. Motion.

6ly That a distinction bee made in matters of contribution betwixt those whoe send priuate trade of their owne, & those whoe are supplyed wth trade from the Company, all of them being as yet bound to paye their thirde to the Company.

And in this case that the Cort would bee pleased to explayne themselues further concerninge the favour lately graunted to Captaine Norths Servants in as large a proportion as to any that paye their thirds; ffor it seemes not equall that his servants (being supplyed wth trade out of the cõmon Cargazone at the charge of the Company) should have the same favour, priviledge, & advantage as those Servants whoe are supplyed wth trade out of a priuate Cargazone at the charge of perticuler men.'

And nowe it is tyme to make an end, when free intendemts to bee p̃formed in p̃son remarkeable to posterity for the good of Gods Church & the honor of the English nation are nowe turned to a fewe petty motions at home.

And for the better effectinge hereof, because iustice & peace are twoe inseparate Companions & the strongest bullwarkes of governement, it seems best that noe accusation bee sleighted, noe backbitinge enterteyned wthout a seasonable & indifferent triall.

Indefensi et mandati tanquam innocentes pereunt.[1]

Thus whilest the whole bodie sitts in Counsell wth it selfe, noe question all proceedings abroad will bee more happie, dissensions broken, unitie prserved, Cõmands obeyed, & the plantation flourish.

* * * * * *

Thus my Lord in most humble manner I have prsented yor Lop wth a litle manuscript, wch floated upon those waters of trouble, wherein I have had my part. It is indeede a discourse of a voyage to litle purpose, unles it bee to sheue the world, howe I might haue carried myselfe in a better employement. For my faythfull information,

[1] "Like innocent children undefended and in strangers' hands they perish."

I appeale to God & man, for sufficiencie of reasons to their charitable Judgement whoe have both interest & leasure to reade it. Howe others maye take it I knowe not, neyther doe I much care. Sure I am by occasion hereof the Shipwracke of my ffortunes is certeynly knowne, of my selfe in question, w^ch^ nothing can soe well resolve as the favour & protection of yo^r^ Lo^ps^ most noble familie.

——*rebus succurrite laesis.*

et date naufragio littora tuta meo.[1]

Your Lo^pps^ in all duty to be Commaunded

RICHARD THORNTON.

(iii) CERTAINE OVERTURES MADE BY YE LORD WILLOUGHBY OF PARHAM UNTO ALL SUCH AS SHALL INCLINE TO PLANT IN YE COLONYE OF SARANAM ON YE CONTINENT OF GUAIANA.[2]

1. Such as are able & willing to transport themselves at ther own charge shall haue a shippe or shippes provided for them, according to their number in 3 moneths or lesse

[1] "Succour my shattered fortunes and give safe anchorage to my wrecked ship."

[2] *Sloane MSS.* 159, folios 20–21B (British Museum). This manuscript is typical of the terms by which colonial adventurers were wont to encourage immigration into the new lands which they were opening up. The date of this "prospectus" is probably *circa* 1655. When Willoughby was expelled from Barbados in 1652 by the Commonwealth expedition under Ayscue, he was compelled to return to England. He immediately plunged into a series of intrigues for a new royalist rising, for which in 1655 Cromwell had him imprisoned. But during these years he was also acting in close co-operation with his two influential merchant friends, Martin Noel & Thomas Povey, in extensive trading and colonising ventures in the West Indies, Guiana and Carolina. It was probably owing to Povey's influence with Cromwell that Willoughby in 1656 regained his liberty.

Willoughby's rights in Surinam had been expressly reserved to him in the treaty signed at Barbados by Ayscue : and during the Commonwealth period Povey acted as his agent there. In a letter dated Jan. 23rd, 1656, Povey wrote to Willoughby saying that he was keeping for him a collection of "vanities presented to you from Surinam," which he will take care of till "you shall be at leisure to make upp a fuller collecc̃on, . . . these things being most proper for your own ffamilye, they being ye only returne of y^or^ severall Adventures thither." He adds that he will greatly treasure the keeping of these curiosities out of affection for the owner, as a lover would a personal gift from his mistress. (*Additional MSS.* 11411, f. 7B.)

after they signifye their resolucions & the number of persons and quantitye of goods ; & in ye sayde vessels they shall haue accommodation according to ther qualitye. They shall pay for ther passage but 5^{li} a head, & in this also ther wilbe an abatement for children under 10 yeeres old, for 2 of them shalbe accompted but for one passenger in pay & allowance (provided alwayes that they never any messe aboue 7 in number), sucking children to goe free. Every passenger also, according to ye manner to haue his sea chest or trunck to goe free, & to pay but 50 shill. per tunn for fraight of other goods.

2. Vpon ther arriveall in ye Countrye ther shal be allotted to every single person, man or woman that payes for ther own passage, 50 Acres of Land of inheritance. And a married man to have so much for himself & 50 more for his wife, 30 for every child, 20 for every man *f. 20b.* or mayd servant, & as ther familyes increase in children or servants, so to increase in ther lot of land. This land to be layd out as shalbe most convenient for situation & goodness, according to ye choyce of the person concerned. And if any shall thinck fit to depart from ye Countrye, they shall have liberty to sell ther lands & goods to whom they please, or on other occasion to dispose thereof by deed will or Contract.

3. When any of ther children grow up to a distinct familye, then to have 50 Acres of other land of inheritance, & when any of ther servants are set free to have 30 Acres.

4. Such single persons, men or women (as being serviceable & of good report), are willing but not able to goe may be entertained into service by ye Lord Willoughby, & at his alone charge transported, serving ther but foure yeers, in all which time to be fully provided with sufficient meat, drinck, lodging & apparrell, & at ye end of the sayd terme, shall haue ten pounds sterling payd them in mony or Country Commodityes, & 30 Acres of good land alotted them for them & ther heires for ever. And

ye servant that is an Artificer shall haue further incouragement in his Art. Likewise ther wil be entertainment for boyes & girles for 7 yeers or such other time as is fit for their age, & at ye end of ther time, they shall haue 30 Acres & some reward in Tooles clothes or other materialls.

f. 21. 5. For the transport & support of industrious & well disposed persons & familyes which are not able to doe this of themselves, as in ye first Artickle, neither are so fit to pay for it by service, as in ye 4th Article, ther is a desire to propound or finde out & accept such a way as may giue just encouragement to ye transporter & transported. That which is at present thought on & practised is, That such persons & familyes shall haue ther passage at ye alone charge of ye Lord Willoughby, or anye other Patron, & upon ther arriveall, every person if single, shall haue 40 Acres of good land allotted to him, & if married as much also for his wife & 15 for each child or servant, & when a child of such a familye, shall goe forth to finde a new on, to haue 40 Acres & when a servant is free 30.

Those persons so transported to be true debtors to ye Lord Willoughby or any other patron, for ther passage & therefore to hold ther land on condition of paying after the 2^{d} yeere a tenth part of the proffits thereof either in kinde as it riseth, or at a rate compounded for. Good order is to be taken to prevent fraud or neglect by appointing a proportion of land to be planted with provision & Commodityes, & if any such person or familyes, as being in Townes shall desire wholy to employ themselves in some

f. 21b. Arts or misterye rather then in planting, then to pay ye Patron some lesser part of ther true gaine be it a 20th, or any other part which shalbe agreed vpon.

The Lord Willoughby is willing for ye first 8 moneths (in which time & before, they may hau[e] a croppe of ther own) to furnish such poore familyes with provision to be payd for at ye 2^{d} yeere in kinde : otherwise also to

trust them with tooles & other necessaryes out of his Store ; likewise to furnish them at ye countrye rates with cattell & servants, English or Negroes : for which if not payd for in 3 moneths after the delivery, the Planter is to allow wages for so much of the price as is unpayd at 6 per centum.

Incouragement is considered of for all considerable persons & ingenuous Artists or Students, as able preachers, schoolmasters, Physitians, Chyrurgions, midwives, Surveyors, Architectors, Chymists & other persons singularly improveable for ye good of ye Colonye ; ther bookes instruments or tooles needfull in ye exercise of their ingenuity, shalbe fraight free, & any other reasonable foods indulged.

(iv) REASONS OFFERED BY THE LORD WILLOUGHBIE WHY HEE OUGHT NOT TO BE CONFINED IN HIS SETTLEMENT VPON SERRANAM.[1]

The State of his Case.

The Lord Willoughbie in 1650 sett fourth a shipp and a small vessell to make Discoverie of the Maine of Guiana. Did afterwards send more Shipping Men and

[1] *Egerton MSS.* 2395, ff. 279–282. Papers relating to English Colonies in America and the West Indies, 1627–1699. This document is a protest on the part of Willoughby against the Government's proposal to limit his rights in Surinam to the small district which had been actually settled. But as he points out, the first occupation was only a preliminary step to penetration into the hinterland. He assures the Protector that he need have no fear of complications arising from any ambiguity in his claim, as the region known as Surinam was naturally bounded by the rivers Marowyne & Saramica. The matter was never clearly settled until after the Restoration, when at last (in 1664) a definite patent was granted.

The protest here printed was presented to the Protector *circa* 1656. For on January 23rd of that year Povey wrote to Lord Willoughby as follows :—" I am now by your Lordship's encouragement & Licence so farr concerned in y^e^ prosperitie of that place " (*i.e.*, Surinam), " that I shall not onely hope it will bee confirmed to you but will believe that I also have some interest in it, at least so much as shall alwaies oblige mee to love & serve it." He goes on to say that he is doing his utmost to effect Willoughby's release : " and truly if you are not a deep Dissembler & one not to bee understood by soe plaine a person as myselfe, I could even swear that you have Inclynacõns not only worthy his Highness' present favour but his future encouragement." (*Addit. MSS.* 11411, f. 7B, *op. cit.*).

Provisions, and in 1652 went Himself, and made his Settlement upon Serranam, a Part of Guiana lying between the two streames of Marrowin and Sarramica, fortified it, furnished it with about 300 Men, and left proportionable provisions, to the expence of many thousand pounds out of his own purse.

His naturall right.

The Right Hee claimes is first: A naturall Right, Hee being the first Discoverer, there being noe Christian vpon the Place, inhabited only by the Indians, by whose consent and Agreement Hee possessed Himself of the River, and begann to settle an English Protestant Colonie.

His civil right.

Secondly Hee claimes by a Civil Right, conveyed unto Him by Articles, which were confirmed by Parliament, Whereby Hee is not only allowed in express Tearmes his Settlement vpon Serranam, but any which Hee shall make vpon any other part of Guiana.[1] Soe that by the Letter of that Article if his Settlement at Serranam should be circumscribed a sett proportion of miles, Hee is imediatly at Libertie to begin another Settlement, contiguous to the bounds of the former, it being a Part of the Continent of Guiana.

By the word settlement what is meant.

The Tearme of Settlement is and hath allwaies been vnderstood among Adventurers abroad to bee Some Island or a considerable Part of a Country, where the Adventurer thinks fitt to settle

[1] The actual clause of the treaty (signed after the surrender of Barbados to the Parliament forces under Ayscue) is worded as follows :— "That the Lord Willoughby of Parham have all his lands, rents or estates whatsoever in England (without any fine or composition paid) restored to him . . . & that what settlements the said Lord Willoughby of Parham has made at Surinam, or any other he shall make on the main of Guiana, shall be by him enjoyed and kept without any disturbance, either of himself or those that shall accompany him thither . . ." (*Addit. MSS.* 11411, f. 95 *et seq.* Printed verbatim in Sir Robert Schomburgh's "History of Barbados," cf. C.O. 1/11, Nos. 38, 39, etc., Public Record Office.)

a Colonie, and is a Capacious expression, not bounding itselfe vntill by experience and Severall Tryalls of the Place and other circumstances and conveniences, Hee at last proceeds to plant and Trade, and then advances farther to the Improvement of his Colonie, and establishing the Government.

Settlement is of another nature to a Plantation.

It cannot reasonably bee imagined that the Settlement designed and attempted and prosecuted with great Hazard and Expence was only that spott of Ground vpon which Hee hath fixed and planted which would have been an vndertaking alltogether imprudent and Ridiculous, and noe waie proportionable to such an Adventure, a single plantation of many thousand Acres being to bee had elsewhere vpon much easyer and securer Tearmes. But the Settlement properlie and only to bee vnderstood to bee the Lord Willoughbies at Guiana is His Colonie, begunn, setled, and fortified vpon the River Serranam.

The Settlement intended is not that Hee first proceeded vpon.

The Place where hee first sett his foot, was only in order to his farther advance into the Country, and vpon which Hee first insisted, because it was nearer the Mouth of the River, which, as beginnings only, Hee fortifyed: disposing his servants there for the clearing the ground, planting provisions, and consulting how best to proceed. And those grounds neare which the Forts stand are generally drownd, and serve cheifly for Securitie. Soe that the Lord Willoughbie being confined within a limited Distance will bee vsed but as a greate outwark to such as shall come in behind Him, and Hee must loose the Advantages of his Settlement. Besides it will begett great occasion of Contention that another Colonie shall imediatly border and press upon him. And Hee cannot bee assured that some of a forreign Nation

may not fall in, and plant there, which cannot bee hindered or interrupted, whilest the Lord Will[oughbie] shall bee soe confined.

f. 279b. The verie words of Settlement vpon Serranam, doe sufficiently express the intended Boundaries. That River being the Conduct and the Bounds which Hee rested vpon in his Attempt and Adventure, and which will of itself divide and Apportion his Settlement from the rest of Guiana; His River of Serranam being one of numerous rivers, which runn through severall Parts of that vast Continent and fall into the sea. The Banks of which Rivers being as it were Boundaries to each other, distinguish the sevverall Parts of land there. Among which that which is his Settlement, is but a small Proportion, as appeares by the Mapp of those Places, which all Lye as free as Serranam did to any that shall be Adventurers there. Soe that Serranam being that part, sought out and pitched vpon by the Ld. Willoughbie, to settle his Colonie, and being a Line of certaintie, Strength, and Proprietie, as it is bounded by the two Rivers of Marrawine and Sarramica, and being allwaies intended by Him to bee his Boundarie to Himself and from all others, Hee hopes it shall not now bee discountenanced or Cutt short, especially seing This Commonwealth comes to have a Right of Supreamacie and future Expectations of Advantage in that greate continent by the Interest which with soe much Industry and Difficultie Hee hath gained at Serranam.

Settlement upon Serranam is a Sufficient Boundarie.

f. 280. [1] The Lord Willoughby of Parham did in the yeare 1650 sett forth one Ship and a small Vessell in which twenty

[1] In a different hand.

persons were transported and furnished to make discovery of the Maine of Guiana. Vpon the retorne of which Shipp accordinge to aduice hee did fitt a Frygott of twenty guns with two other Vessells to attend vpon that Service, and in them did send 100 men with all maner of provisions to make a Settlement vpon the Riuer of Serranam.

After which hee did at severall tymes and vpon seuerall Vessells send Men, prouisions, armes, and Amunition.

And in further prosecution thereof did in the year 1652 take a voyage thither himselfe in person and with him caryed an adition of strength soe that hee left well setled there 300 persons all English well fortifyed and furnished with Canon, Armes, amunition, and other necessaryes all which was done at his sole proper Cost and Charges to the expence of many thowsand pownds.

That since his retorne, though his right and interest hath beene contested and disturbed, yet his piety to his settellment of soe many poore Englishmen hath beene such That hee hath notwithstandinge sent thither from hence at his owne charge one ship ladeinge of all provisions and nessecaryes for their releife and settlement in suporting them.

That in regard hee hath beene at this greate Cost and *f. 280b.* expence in which hee cheifely aymes at the advanceinge of the honnour and Interest of his Nation in the setlinge and secureinge of the place without any retorne of any profitt to himselfe as yet,—

Desires,

That the Land belongeing to Serranam as it lyeth bounded betweene the Rivers of Marrawine and Serramica being not aboue thirty myles distant, which is but a very small proporcion to that large Continent beinge at least

1500 myles betweene the rivers of Oronoca and Amazoones, may remayne intire vnto himselfe without any interuption of others as is by the 16 Article vpon the Surrender of Barbados assured vnto him, and that orders may bee given to the Governors which are allready or hereafter shalbe setled ouer those parts not to intermidell in the disposeinge or aleinatinge any of the said lands or any of the persons or other matter or thinge there.

f. 281. That Serranam may be considered as a place which by its scituation and other advantages may bee more searuiceable to your Highnesse by being preserved and forborne then by beinge drayned & displanted at this tyme, it beinge a groweinge plantacion and soe happily scituated, that from thence a strengh may bee easily conveyed into the bowells of the Spaniard at Peru.[1]

This settellment lyinge to the windward, may bee able to assault by sea Marguerite (famous for Pearle) and other the most considerable places of the Spayniards as Comana, Santafee, even to Carthagena, and may also at the same tyme fall vpon them by land by draweinge in diuerse Neighbouringe Nations of the Indians (prone to the English) and inverate enemyes to the Spayniard, soe that those interests of the Spayniards on that Continent may with the more facylity be this way invested by the English.

[1] This was a shrewd hit, specially designed to gain the favour of the Protector, who was at this time full of a grandiose scheme to drive the Spaniards entirely from the New World and to establish a great English (and therefore Protestant) empire in their stead. The plan of beginning with the Spanish West Indies and the Main and gradually penetrating into Mexico and Peru had been already several times suggested to him. (Cf. " A Paper of Colonel Muddiford Concerning the West Indies, Dec. 1654." *Thurloe* III, p. 62; also " Some briefe & true observations concerning the West Indies, presented to his highnesse, Oliver, Lord Protector . . .," by Thomas Gage, *ibid.*, pp. 59–61.) The dispatch of the Penn-Venables expedition to the West Indies in 1655 was the outcome of this scheme, though the dream of conquering South America was reduced in actual fact to the capture of the island of Jamaica.

It is conceiued your Highness may spend much tyme in sendinge of Shipping thither because of the distance of the place from other the Plantations it lyinge in 6½ North latitude, & Barbados beinge the next to it of all the English Plantacions in 13½. And it is likewise to bee doubted That the people which are settled *f. 281b* there will not bee induced willingly to remayne vpon vncertaynetyes, they beinge scattered in seuerall plantacions aboue 60 Miles vpp the Riuer, haueinge overcome the hardshipp and greate difficulty of a new settelment by theire houses built and theire provisions planted, soe as they are enteringe vpon the planting of Comodityes, being the hopes which cheifely induced them to soe farr an aduenture of soe great difficulty and daunger.

The Lord Willoughby who conceives his right to the Settellment of Serranam to bee vndoubtedly and vnquestionably vnder your Highnesse for which hee prayeth your Pattent of Confirmacion, hee haueinge at his owne greate charge and expence not onely discovered the place, but planted and setled a Collony there, fortefyed and secured them and hitherto suplyed and preserved them, and was assured vnto him by Articles vpon the surrender of Barbadoes that hee should enioy it without interuption. And (he) shalbe ready vpon any Comand from your Highnesse to leade and Conduct not onely his owne particuler seruants and famyly but vse his interest and utmost endeavors with the Collony to fall vpon any the forenamed places, or to draw them to any other part of the Indies your Highnes shall Comand, which hee conceives wilbe more vnanimously done when your highnes hath possessed some place in those parts.[1]

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[1] Endorsement. "Serrannam. *f. 282b.*
Reasons why Syrranam should bee permitted to Subsist."

(v) "TO Y^E RIGHT HON^BLE YE LORDS OF HIS MAJESTIES MOST HONORABLE PRIVY COUNCEL, THE CASE OF Y^E PROSCRIPTS FROM SURINAM W^ITH ALL HUMILITY IS BRIEFELY BUT MOST TRUELY STATED." (1662).[1]

My Lords,

The Colony of Surinam, being neglected by those who had usurped ye Soveraignety of our Nation, & thereby Destituted of a well-Authorized Ruling Power, was constrained in Order to their Quiet & better securing of their Interests, to unite in ye Constituting such species of Gouernement as might most probably Conduce to that End, and, by Restraining the License, ascertaine the Liberty of the People.

By Delegates therefore, for that Particular Purpose Elected, it was Decreed that yearly ye Respective Divisions should, by their Maior Suffrages, Depute their Peculiar Representatives, in whose joint Bulks ye Chiefe

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[1] Extract from *Add. MSS.* 29587, ff. 79–80 (British Museum). Miscellaneous Political Papers, 1559–1704. This appeal of Robert Sandford and his party was presented to the Privy Council in August, 1662. On September 12th the case was again considered, when a further petition of Sandford's was read, in which he repeats his former charges of tyranny on the part of Byam, who (he states) seized "all that had disputed his authority, many asleep in their beds, keeping them prisoners and bringing them to trial by Court Martial. The Prisoners though pleading not guilty were hurried away, first into irons, then into exile, and a heavy load of fines added." He begs their lordships "to perpend" how insecure their future life will be under an irritated authority, and to condemn their lawless rulers to be commanded home, there to defend their actions. (*Cal. Col.* 1661–1668, p. 108.)

William Byam was an ardent Royalist, who had vigorously supported the Walronds and the violent section of the Cavalier party in Barbados. It is therefore probable that his efforts to maintain the authority of the Crown (and of himself) in Surinam were somewhat high-handed and arbitrary. At the same time it is to be remembered that Sandford bore a personal animosity against Byam. At this very time a certain John Treffry wrote from Surinam to Charles Pym telling him that Sandford, in order to undermine Byam's reputation in the colony, had deliberately set abroad a rumour that the Governor was intending to poison him. (Treffry to Pym, August 16th, 1662. *H.M.C.* 10th Report, App., Part VI. *Bouverie MSS.*, p. 96.) And as we have already seen, Sandford again tried to ruin his enemy in 1667, by accusing him to Lord Willoughby of culpable cowardice in the defence of Surinam against the Dutch attack. (Cf. *H.M.C.* 14th Report, Part II. *Portland MSS.*, III, pp. 308–310, *op. cit.*)

Dominion of the Country should for that year Remaine, with subiection to the Lawes, & Due obedience to the Commands of ye Supream Power of England.

And to giue ye more exact Formation to this Body; They appointed that one, by Nomination of ye Rest, should be their head & hand, to Preside in their Conventions & give Execution to their Sanctions. To which Eminency Byam was first chosen, & therein, for three Successive Years, continued Regularly according to this Constitution. In which time he made himselfe a Faction so powerfull in this Representative, that they over-ruled ye Lesse numerous Party, & Decreed their owne Continuation in the Governement till Determined by ye Contrary Commands of our Soveraigne; & Actually Continued in ye Power after their year Expired, by a Private & un-published Order tearing up that foundation on which their owne Station was fixed: Contrary to that Axiome of Law & Reason which saith, *Unum quodque dissolvitur eodem modo quo colligatum est.*

But to give ye better Color to an action so naked of Rational Defence, they pretend to a Command for this from his Sacred Majesty; who being there acknowledged ye Supream head of all his Dominions, by ye Purview of ye Delegates Act might at his Pleasure give a Period to this their Constitution.

Byams *Ipse Dixit* must twist ye beliefs of ye whole Colony to this assertion; & ye very Questioning ye verity thereof is Sabled with ye Affrighting terms of Treason. Seditions & Rebellions were ye Epithetes which, as notes of Distinction, he affixed on them who Durst Deny Complyance with those Commands they never heard. This notwithstanding, Diuers were found that did make verbal opposition, & especially when the payment of a late heavy Imposition was Exacted. They Controuerted ye Issueing forth of such Royal Proclamation as was affirmed, at lest concluded themselves not bound by it

till published amongst them, & knowne to extend to them in such termes as was pretended. And Consequently they Denyed that there was any Legal Power in the Colony, & threatened Resistance to such Ministers as in Execution of any Commands should make attempts on their Persons or Estates.

And that Byam might be forced to Evidence to the world how much or how little Right he had to ye Dominion he had seized, some Gentlemen, more witty than Considerate, take a small shallop in ye Riuer belonging to a Dutchman, as a Prize to his Majesty; hoping that a Court would be called to try whether she were Prize or not, that by Pleading to ye Jurisdiction of that Court, they might cause Byam either to show
f. 79b. that Royal Edict, which continued him in ye Gouernement or Else acknowledge himselfe Destitute of a Sufficient warrant for keeping ye Possession thereof. But he takes occasion from hence to call all ye Colony into armes, Blazoning this action as ye Dangerous Effects of that Sedition which had a long time unsettled ye minds of ye Populace, & now Discovered a face of Tumult & Civil warre. He premitts his Maior with a Party by force to Re-take ye shallop, & himselfe seconds with ye Body of ye Armado. But they that had seized ye Prize, hauing no other intents than what is Declared, upon his first approach Deliuer ye shallop to Usher, taking onely his word that they should have a legal tryal for her, & Retired themselves to their homes.

Byam when come sends out several Parties of Muskettiers & seizeth all that had ever Disputed his Authority (ye most of which he found asleep in their beds) keeps them Prisoners under Guards of Soldiers & at length brings them to a tryal by a Martial Court, or rather a High Court of Justice like that of Bradshaw. Much Art is used to Discover strange Plotts those Persons had; many things are objected in themselves Ridiculous, others Impossible.

Such actions as they were guilty of, as this of taking ye shallop are aspersed with ye Generall scandal of a horrid Designe ; ye particularities of which, since they Could not Imagine must be content with ye Imputation.

Witnesses are called from all Quarters, & in absence of ye Delinquents Examined upon oath, they testify of many words, that on several occasions of Discourse, & in Divers Societies, had fallen from these men, tending to a Disowning ye Present Power. Such as Byam thought might best serve his Purpose & Evidence his owne Invented plotts, he paints in ye Depositions & leaues out those other parts of ye Discourse, which might lessen ye malice of ye Inserts words, & Discouer ye better thoughts of ye Speaker.

These Depositions were ye bills of Indictment against ye Prisoners ; in whom it was censured a great Impudence, & an Argument of an Incorrigible Spirit, that they Durst plead not Guilty & Desire a more Legal & more Equal tryal, so that without a being heard they were hurried away, first into Irons & then into Exile. And lest this should not sufficiently Depresse them, a heavy load of Fines was added for onely laboring to avert so Illegal & Tyrannical a Prosecution,* of all which Penalties I became a Patient.*

This, my Lords, is ye Substance of that long Discourse of our Sufferings ; many Parts of which will appear from such Witnesses as are here vivâ voce to be produced ; ye whole may be proued by ye Confessions in Byams owne Declarations, abstracted from those Scurrilities with which he Interlards his Discourse & bespatters our persons & actions. From whence if Your Honors shall Conclude that we have sustained a great wrong, We Doe Humbly Beseech Your Descending to Considerations for our most certaine Repair In which if your Honors Please to Perpend, How prevalent a Party our Enemies have in ye parts

* This has been added later by the same hand.

where they Reside: How all persons of Judgement or Courage there are Interested in ye Dispute Either as Plaintiffs or Defendants. How much we, the Sufferers, are by these violent Prosecutions disabled for ye Expence of a long voyage & tedious Attendance on a Tryal Deferred by a Partial Cunning. You will, we hope, conclude it an additionall Punishment to Remitt us thither for Satisfaction where we Receivd ye Injury; and Conclude it a Precedent more greatly Deterring from ye like future Proceedings, if these lawlesse Rulers be Commanded home here to make a Defence of their actions against
f. 80. us; or, failing therein, Submitt to such Judgements as ye Law allowes of. The Soveraigne Power of his Sacred Majesty, & ye Extent of ye Lawes of England ouer all His English Subjects, are in no kinde Defective, but Compleat to Produce their End, ye Preserving Right, suppressing & Punishing wrong, to all his Maiesties Subiects in His Remotest Dominions.

In a full Relyance on Your Lordshipps Justice I shall presume to Subscribe my Selfe

My Lords
Your Votary, Most Humbly
Submitting to your Honors,
whatever Determination

R. SANFORD.[1]

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[1] As already stated (see footnote above, p. 184) Sandford's charges against Byam must be accepted with caution because of the unscrupulous methods with which he persecuted the man. At the same time it must be remembered in Sandford's favour that he was a capable and trusted leader of men. In 1665, when a company of Barbadian planters, headed by Sir John Yeamons, received a commission from the Carolina proprietors to colonise Cape Fear (or Fair), Sandford was appointed secretary, and in June, 1666, made a perilous and important voyage of discovery along the coast from Albemarle to Port Royal, exploring one of the rivers for thirty miles inland. (See his own narrative in the *Shaftesbury Papers*.)

(vi) LETTERS TO SIR ROBERT HARLEY FROM THE STEWARDS OF HIS PLANTATIONS IN SURINAM. (1663–4).[1]

(Addressed :)

ffor ye wriht Hon'ble Sr Roberte Harloe Lo. Chanseler of Barbadus The(se) Deliuer with Truste.

HONOURED SR,

These are toe Aquainte yowr honre That Cap. George Straing is verey sik, more like toe Dey then toe liue. These are allsoe toe Aquante yowre hoñre That Acording as yow weere Pleased toe order mee, I Did looke ffor A Plase vpone yowre land att ye Cotten Tree toe Buld mee Ane House. Butt ye ffreshese Being varey High in ye riuer, Itt is All Drouned vpone ye ffase of ye riuer. Theareffore I made Choyse of A Plase 3 leages Aboue Sand Poynt Called Morgoename ; it is verey neare ye Guese.[2] I Doe liue in hopes that I shall haue good Imployment Theare ; and Acording toe my Judgment this Coloney is like toe bee verey hopefull. Iff yowre

[1] I am indebted to His Grace the Duke of Portland for his permission to print these letters, which are preserved in the library at Welbeck Abbey. I have also to thank Mr. Goulding for his kindness in making transcriptions for me. (The letters are briefly calendared in *H.M.C.* 14th Report, App., Part II, *Portland MSS.* III.)

Sir Robert Harley was an old friend of Francis, Lord Willoughby, with whom he had co-operated in a number of royalist plots during the time of the Protectorate (cf. *Clarendon MSS.*, Vol. 72, f. 437). On reassuming command at Barbados in 1662, Willoughby (with the King's approval) appointed his friend to be Chancellor in the island ; who, arriving there in March, was also created Chief Judge of the Court of Exchequer in the following November. (*H.M.C.*, *Portland MSS.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 266, 272, 273 and 278.) Harley, however, seems to have become impressed with his new importance, and soon began to irritate Willoughby in consequence. (C.O. 1/31, pl. 84–89, P.R.O.) The latter was at this time experiencing a heavy time in vindicating his authority in Barbados, with the result that Harley's tactlessness brought down upon his head rather too severe a measure of retribution. On February 11th, 1664, he was arrested and committed to the common gaol, and sent home some weeks later in disgrace. (C.O. 1/18, No. 29, P.R.O. ; and *Sloane MSS.* 3662, f. 57*b* ; also numerous letters in *Portland MSS.*, *op. cit.*)

He, however, retained the estates which he had bought in Surinam. And the letters here printed are reports written by his overseer and others on the spot.

[2] *i.e.*, Geyser.

Hoñre bee soe Pleased toe send a yong nigroe of 16 or 18 yeares of Age, I will Instruckte him in my *Trad*: ffor yowre Hoñres seruis in as short a time as hee will bee Capable toe learne. And Iff yowre Hoñre will bee Pleased toe Healpe mee toe one yong negroe, I will in A shorte tim sattisfy yow, god willing. Theare is A genney man[1] Ariued heare in This riuer of y^e^ 24^th^ of This Instant att Sande poynt. Shee hase 130 nigroes one Borde; y^e^ Comanders name Joseph John Woode; shee has lost 54 negroes in y^e^ viage. The Ladeyes that are heare liue att St Johnes hill. Itt is reported heare that yowre Honoure haue sould that Plantation toe my Lord Willughby. Soe with my Humbell seruis toe yowre Honr^e^ I remaine yow^re^ Hoñres seruant

WILLI. YEARWORTH.

Morgoname this 27^th^ of Jaunarey 1663
in Surranam Riuer.

(Addressed:)

These ffor the Right Hon^able^ S^r^ Robert Harley Knight at S^t^ Michaells Towne In Barbados,

with my most humble seruice.

HONORED S^R^

my humble respects & seruice salute you. S^r^, the fouerty Acres of land the Lieute Gen^ll^ and my selfe weare to fell and plant for you, wee haue performd according to our agreement, and haue had it run out by a sworne Surueyour whose sertificate you will receiue from the Lieute Gen^ll^. M^r^ Rowland Stibben haue seen yo^r^ plantation, whoe can informe you the Condition of it. S^r^, I humbly request you to supply it with negroes by the first opportunity and those other necessaries I formerly writt to yo^r^ Honor for. S^r^, be confident I shall vse my vtmost Ceare & endeauor in the management of it. S^r^,

[1] *i.e.*, a slave ship from the Guinea Coast.

for all things els I refer you to the Lieute Gen^{ll} Letter. Thus with my humble respects & seruice to yo^{r} Honour I Rest

Yo^{r} Most Humble Seruant
GEO^{E} STRAUNGE.

Surinam
March 4th 1663.

(Addressed :)
Th(ese) ffor y^{e} Hon^{ble} S^{r} Robert Harley K^{t} Barbados.

Surynam. March the 14th 63.

HON^{BLE} S^{R},

Haueing by seuerall Conveyances giuen you a full accompt of all yo^{r} busines here and since y^{t} M^{r} Rowland will giue you a perfect relation of all, I need not enlarge But to advise you of the sympatheticall passion of ye Grand Sheapheard Celedon who is fled after Astrea, beeing resolvd to espouse all distresse or felicities of fortune wth her. But the more Certaine cause of his flight (waueing the Arrowe & seruices he had for the Lodger) was a Regiment of protests to the number of 1000 of pounds sterlin drawne vp against him. And he beeing a Tender Gentleman & unable to keepe the feild hath betaken himselfe to the other element as fletting as himselfe, but whether for certain I cannot yett resolue you. Truly the Brethren are much startled that the Gouernor of the Reformation should Turne Tayle on the day of battle. S^{r}, I haue mett with a choice sumattse (?) wch I present you by Rowland, desiring yo^{r} acceptance. I desire yo^{r} favour to Mr. Chester, Master of the Ketch wherein I am interested, and to furder him with freight or passengers in what you may. All here salute you with their hũble service.

I am S^{r}, Yo^{r} very faithfull friend & hũble servt
W^{M} BYAM.

Maior Banister & Lady present their
hũble service to you.[1]

[1] For further references to Major Bannister, see Byam's Account printed below.

(Addressed :)

To the Hon^ble S^r Robert Harley K^t. These present
London.

Barbados 14^th May 1664.

HONORED SIR,

I hope this will finde y^u well In England where Its hoped y^u finde all things to yo^r Content.[1]

Synce yo^r departure heare noe newse worth yo^r Cognisance. [I] supose Cap^t Gorges Is w^th y^u, who as Report saith Carieth hence all newes y^t Concerneth yo^r selfe. Y^u know my meaning. Accompt of all things, though not from me, I hope Is before this safe Come to yo^r hands.

The bad newse of the suplyes being taken by the Turks I Judge met y^u at yo^r Arivall, since w^ch Is [the] said ship Arived here. Accompt of the sale of yo^r Marchantdize sent theather I haue not Received, but supose my brother haue, who I haue written too to giue It y^u, as alsoe Acc^t of what Is sent In Returnes heather. I sell & dispose of o^r Intrest together. If M^r Walwyn would, he might haue had yo^r Concerne, but Judged It best to Let It be sould together. Whether the sug^r doe p̃duce more or less then yo^r half part I know not as yet. Doe Dayly Expect Accompts. I haue paid the master his freight viz. Twenty one Thousand pounds of muscovads Sugar, who was forced by night to sayle, or else had byn seased on by the Govern^r & Povey. What trouble I haue byn put too in Remoueing the goods on shoare to kepe them frõ The hands of the takers, I refer y^u to y^e bearer Cap^t Hen : Oake for Information.[2]

S^r, I at p^rsant Can onely giue y^u my Thanks for all yo^r fauo^rs. I Could wish [I] had an oportunity whereby [I] might signifie my Respects. Yo^r friends here w^ch

[1] Harley had arrived in England in April of this year.

[2] Since Harley's arrest, Lord Willoughby and his Provost-Marshal Povey had done their utmost to prevent any of his possessions, or the produce of his estates, from leaving Barbados.

are many p^re^sent y^u^ w^th^ theire humble service & would be glad to se y^u^ here Againe If [it] might be for yo^r^ hono^r^ & profitt.

I supose y^u^ heare my Lord Is at Leward. I being aboard w^th^ him at his Departure, he Did take a glass of wyne & Dranke yo^r^ helth w^th^ a greate many good wishes for yo^r^ welfaire &c.[1]

Aboute six Dayes hence Departs Coro^ll^ Mudiford for Jameca[2]. Its much desired y^e^ Like Coñisson would Come for Yeamons to goe Governo^r^ of Cape Faire.[3]

By this Conveyance goeth M^r^ Witty, who must giue y^u^ Accompt of the Disposeall of the mony paid him at Cadiz by yo^r^ order, as alsoe the Answer of my Lord Ruterford & others to yo^r^ severall Letters.

Not to trouble y^u^ w^th^ more Lynes, S^r^, I onely beg y^u^ to beleue y^t^ none more desires yo^r^ p̃sperity & welfaire then, S^r^, Yo^r^ faithfull & most humble serv^t^

JOHN KNIGHT.

(Addressed :)

These ffor ye Hon^ble^ S^r^ Robt Harley K^t^ London.
by mr. Fran : Sanford.

HON^BLE^ S^R^,

I was exceeding troubled to heare of the difference betweene his excellence & yo^r^selfe. Yo^r^ letter I receuied w^ch^ was writt at yo^r^ goeing off from Barbadoes, for w^ch^ I really thanke you, & doe most seriously assure you that I shall most faithfully serue you in yo^r^ Concernes here. I haue inclosed presented you with y^e^ True state of yo^r^ interest here, but it is not soe exact at present as it shalbe, God willing, by the next. Imediately after yo^r^

[1] This expedition was that in which Lord Willoughby was drowned, and the fleet scattered in a hurricane.

[2] *i.e.*, Colonel (later Sir) Thomas Modiford, who had just been appointed Governor of Jamaica.

[3] Colonel Yeamons was a leading planter in Barbados, who formed a company for the settlement of Cape Fear in Carolina. (See footnote above, p. 188, and numerous references in *Cal. Col.*, 1661–1668.)

departure from Barbadoes I had order to Remoue my Lords seru^ts & slaues, w^ch in all were Ten, from S^t Johns. Wherevpon I deserted the plantation in Para, w^ch was much ruin'd for want of handes, & remou'd Will. Guilt to S^t Johns, and one Neger woman, w^ch you had at Parham, to Looke after yo^r Cattle at S^t Johns. That plantation and that in Para are all ruin'd; But that neer the Towne, where Capt Straunge is, is yett pretty well & full of prouisions. I wish I had yo^r orders what to doe; Guilt pretends he is noe seru^t, he is very lazy, yet hath some care of the Cattle w^ch thriue well. Mr. Parry claimes some part off those w^ch came from Brasile, but how many at present I cannot tell. I haue bene earnest with Capt Marten, but noe goodes. Yett (he) proffers any thing whatsoeuer he hath; he ordered me vpward of 7000[1] sugr from Maior North. But Maior North would not pay it, vnlesse I would shippe it on Long (that Comes with this) w^ch I really intended to doe, but receiueing yo^r positiue order to send all that I receiu'd to Barbadoes, I forbore, yett secur'd yo^r sugar, w^ch shortly shalbe sent [by] M^r Walwyn. If you intend to dospose of yo^r Cattle vpon Trust, pray fauor with me part or all. If any friend of yo^rs be bound hither, be pleas'd to empower him with me in yo^r busines, w^ch will furder the receipt of yo^r debts. As to the state of all thinges here, I referr you to the relation of the bearer, M^r fran: Sanford my former Marshall, & yo^r next neighbour at S^t Johns, who marryed Major Ushers widow & hath now a good estate fallen to him in England. I haue engag'd him to wayt on you, and to informe you of all thinges, especially of the french o^r New Neighbo^r at Cheyan.[1] My wife and all yo^r friends here present

[1] *i.e.*, Cayenne. The French had already made a series of determined but unsuccessful efforts to establish a permanent colony in this region. See "Voyage de *la France Equinoxiale* en l'isle de Cayenne, 1652" (*Sloane MSS.* 1019, ff. 10–164); also, "Lettre Escrite de Cayenne, Contenant Ce qui s'est passé en la descente des Francois & leur establissement en l'Amerique." Paris, 1653.

their most humble seruice to you. I shall in all thinges assure you that I am Sr Yor most obliged Gratefull & most faithfull serut

Wm Byam.

Surynam
Aug : the 15th, 64.

An accompt of ye estate of the Honble Sr Robt Harley in Surynam.

Debtr.	Sugr.	Cred.	Sugr.
To 33,000lb Sugr to be paid to Capt. Straunge & myselfe whereof receiued 5 negers in part of 15,000l soe there Remaines due ..	18,000l	By a iudgemt acknowledged by Capt. Marten for	43,400
		By 24 head of Cattle at St Johns worth	30,000
		By a heifer & a bull more	02,400
To a bond due to me in March next ..	16,000	By a Neger call'd Cable	4,000
		By a woman Neger worth	3,000
To be paid Capt. Straunge in february next ..	12,000	By a bond from me	25,440
To Rowland ffor wages		By Wm Guilt a serut	
		By St. Johns plantation 800 acres	
		By ye plantation neere the Towne full of prouision 350 acres	
		By 200 acres in Para	

Aug : 15th '64.

Sr, This is the accompt of the Grand busines ; there are other small thinges of Debtr & Credr wch at present I cannot send you, but shall God willing. I am Sr Yor faithfull serut

Wm Byam.

(vii) A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN WILLIAM PORTER TO SIR ROBERT HARLEY, BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE LAST EXPEDITION AND DEATH OF FRANCIS, LORD WILLOUGHBY OF PARHAM.[1]

Barbados, October 11, 1666.

With due respects I present to your serious consideration, the sad and unfortunate success the Lord Willoughby received in his Majestye's service against the Freinch. As soone as his lordship understood the Freinch were in armes at St. Christofer's his lordshipe sent his nephew, Leftenant Generall Willoughby, with fifteen hundred souldiers or there abought to asist the Inglish for the subdueing the Freinch, together with thirty sayle of ships neare, all of them marchants' ships, deepe laden for Ingland. When they came to Antegoe, & understood St. Christofer's was delivered up to the Freinch and that they had a considerable flete there of Freinch and Duch shipes of war, our deepe laden marchants' ships durst not fight them, landed the leftenant generall and souldiers at Antegoe & proseded on there voyage for Ingland, after notis (being) given his lordshipe of the Inglish beaten off St. Christofer's to Nevice. There arived two of his royall navey ships. His Exselencey prest eight of our best marchant ships, man'd and gun'd them from the iland, (and) with them neare one thousand souldiours. For the more juditious performance of his Majestie's service, his Exselencey himselfe went in person.[2]

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[1] *The Duke of Portland's MSS.*, preserved at Welbeck Abbey. *H.M.C.*, 14th Report, App., Pt. II, Vol. III, pp. 300–301.

[2] Willoughby set sail from Barbados on July 18th, 1666; that is to say, at a time of the year when the hurricane season was due, and when it was in consequence a perilous matter to venture out to sea. Père du Tertre (*Histoire Générale des Antilles, op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 114) has suggested that Willoughby's motive for taking such a risk was a desire to capture St. Christophers from the French before Henry Morgan and his buccaneers (who had already forestalled him at Tobago) could do so. This indeed may have been a contributory motive; but probably the chief reason was his own impetuosity and eagerness to be up and

Collonel Edmond Read, Leftenant Collonel Davice, Docter Petter Carouse, sence we have a small vessell from Nevice, doth give us a very sad account of our flete and Lord Willoughby. The first Freinch iland they came to, called Guordelope, the Lord Willoughby sent the Vice Admirall with two ships more and a catch to take two or three ships which ware in the harbor, which they soone performed. One blowed up himselfe, and as they ware bringing them out of the harbor, the rest of our flete, being before the harbor, were by a voyolent storme careyed (away), where the Admirall and foure ships more ware never heard of, being nine or ten weeks sence. His Lordshipe's couch he lay on, drove ashore at Mountsaratt, and some peesis of a ship. Wherefore he is fered to be lost.[1] Wher ever the other foure be, the *Allice* of Poole and a small fire ship is all that is known

doing. He felt, and rightly so, that the fate of every British settlement in the West Indies was at stake. "Better hee (*i.e.*, Henry Willoughby) and I," he had written to the King, "and as many of our name as ever was borne, should be suncke and perish, then those islands lost." (C.O. 1/20, No. 58, P.R.O., April 21st, 1666.) Furthermore he had just received an express command from the King to recapture St. Christophers without delay.

[1] Writing to the Earl of Clarendon, Samuel Barwick, an ardent admirer of Lord Willoughby, reports the disaster which had occurred as follows:—"Upon the Eighteenth of July at night (he) set sayle from this place (his Excellency In person on board Capt. Reynolds') for the Leward Islands to suppress the Insolencyes of the French & Dutch and to relieve his majesties distressed Subjects in them parts; which in all humane probabillity he had undoubtedly done to the glory of his prince & nation, his Lasting honour & shame of his Envious detractors, had not our Sinns drawne the Immediate finger of God at the Instant of our Imbracing soe great A mercy, to turne it to a Curse. Upon the 26th of July In the Evening A violent hurricane did Arise, & that night disperse & wrecke the whole fleete, his Excellency with fiue ships not yet heard of. And our feares concerning him are much Increased by reason of the weaknesse of the vessell wherein he was. My Lord, his Excellenceyes undertaking was very Loyall honourable & hopefull, & carried on with great prudence to the good likeing of the people, if (*i.e.*, though) it ended soe miraculously. In its success what shall we mortells say? the Lord hath done it, blessed be his name. Who hath resisted his power? I doe not doubt nevertheless but these honourable Indeavours of his Lordship will find good roome In his Majesties breast, and I will hope your Lordship will favour his Concernements here, & promote his Majesties speedy pleasure for Our settlement if his Lordship should be lost . . ." (*Clarendon MSS.*, Bodleian, Vol. LXXXIV, ff. 357–358.)

to be saved. One of them (was) carryed to Mounserat, the other to Nevice. The Vice Admirall with the rest were all blone ashore one a little iland before the harbor they ware coming out. Foure hundred of our men and upward got ashore with there armes and beat the Freinch out of there workes and kept it to or three days, landed fortey barrells of powder, and might have kept it, had not a ship captain bin a traytor and coward, put up a flagg of truse and delivered them all prisinors. Forthwith one or two resoulute persons in a small boat with great haszard of their lifes got to Antego, where Leftenant Genrall Henry Willoughby had long laine in expectation of the fleet, which he then understood was disperced and lost.

He haveing five small vesells in FineII and harbour when the hurrycane began, two of them being cast away, the other three he spedyly set forth to fetch our men from the Freinch island, supposing to mete with no resistance, the Freinch ships being cast away. (But) there being sevin newly aravid from Metheroes, that tooke two of our leftenant generall's vessells, aboute two hundred souldiers in them, he naryly escaped him selfe in a small catch that sayled well, to Nevice, where he now is, and have sent to this iland for ships to carry his souldiers to St. Christofer's. By credible reports and letters of those returned to us, the Freinch hath above eight hundred of our souldiers from the Berbadoes, prisinors, besides those that hath bin redemed at 3000 lb. of sugar per man. I doe not understand they made any prisinors at St. Christofer's, but supposed them to goe off with there moveables, except horse and instruments of war.

If his Majesty ware justly inform'd how much this iland[1] is wekened in men, armes and ammunition by setting forth these ships, he would soone take care for streingthening us against soe powerfull an enemy.

[1] *i.e.*, Barbados.

(viii) AN EXACT NARRATIVE OF Y^E STATE OF GUYANA & OF Y^E ENGLISH COLONY IN SURYNAM IN Y^E BEGINNING OF Y^E WARRE WITH Y^E DUTCH & OF ITS ACTIONS DURING THE WARRE, AND THE TAKING THEREOF BY A FLEET FROM ZEALAND."[1]

In Anno (16)65 There were Seaven Colonyes setled on y^e Coast of Guyana, one of y^e English, two of y^e French & four of y^e Dutch. At Apperawacka a River 7 Leagues aboue Cheyan a small Dutch Colony; At Cheyan the grand settlement of the French; At Sinnamarre ten Leagues Leeward of it, they had another Colony distinct from Cheyan. In the Province of Willoughby Land, w^ch conteines the Rivers of Marawyn, Surynam, Saramica and Copennam, was the English Colony. At Barbice about 50 Leagues Leward, y^e Dutch had a Fort, & some settlements. Another at Dissekebe 30 Leagues Leward of it; And y^e greatest of all was at Bawrooma[2] about 12 Leagues Leward of Dissekebe.

In the same yere, in y^e month of May, was this Colony in its Meridian, & after this month had its declination, & went ever retrograde. At this time we had upwards of a 1000 men, but not half armed, nor half ye Armes serviceable & fixt; no Magyzin of Aũunition, nor a Gun mounted.

His Ex^cy Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, our Gen^ll & one of our Lords Proprietors was then here, and sayled hence ye 9^th of this month w^th whom, & in other Ships w^ch imediately went after, at least 200 of our men went off. And a little before his Exc̃yes departure, a Sickness began at our Toun of Toorarica, & spred itself in y^e Plantac̃ons adioyning & swept many away.

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[1] *Ashmolean MSS.* (Bodleian), ff. 109–122. Another copy of the latter part of this manuscript (*i.e.*, pp. 212–222) is in the British Museum, *Sloane MSS.* 3662, ff. 32B–49.

[2] *i.e.*, Pomeroon.

At his Exᶜʸᵉˢ departure, I received Orders for making a Platform at yᵉ Town, & mounting Six Guns, wᶜʰ was in a short time accordingly done.

No sooner was his Exᶜʸ gone, but strange Jealousies possest yᵉ Inhabitants, wᶜʰ broke out into great discontents. Whereupon Capt. John Parker was employd to Barbadoes wᵗʰ yee humble Addresses to his Exᶜʸ whose great prudence returned him wᵗʰ an Olive Branch of Peace & a satisfactory Declaracon, wᶜʰ stopt many who were on the wing ready to desert yᵉ Colony.

In the Month of March I impowered & ordered Capᵗ Peter Wroth wᵗʰ a small party to attaque yᵉ Dutch Colony at Apperawacka; wᶜʰ was effectually done, their Armes, Slaves, Copper &c brought hither, & that small Colony destroyed.

And in Decʳ before, Serjᵗ Major John Scott comissioned by his Exᶜʸ wᵗʰ a small Fleet, and upward of 300 Men, took yᵉ Dutch Fort & Colony of Bawrooma, & also yᵉ Fort of Dissekebe, leaving Capᵗ Bawlston wᵗʰ aboue 50 men in ye first, & Capᵗ Keene wᵗʰ 28 in yᵉ last.[1]

The May following, two of our Shallops coming down from yᵉ Manattee Coast touched at Cheyan in yᵉᵉ return home; by whom yᵉ Governor Monˢʳ de Lesie advised me of yᵉ certainty of yᵉ eruption of the Warr between yᵉ two Crownes; wᵗʰ this friendly Complement, That although he might justly have seized the two Vesselis by virtue thereof, yet to evidence how great a Servant he was to this Colony, he had returned them in peace; And earnestly sollicited, That notwithstanding the Warr abroad, yet that we might continue Friends, as yᵉ English & French had done in former Warrs in yᵉ Leward Islands. The same did Monˢʳ de Noell Governoʳ of Synnamarre request in severall Letters.

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[1] Cf. Scott's own narrative, p. 145 above.

The Colony was not at that time in a Condic̃on to offend, nor well to defend it self. And glad I was that Address for neutrality came from him to me, to whom I returned this Answer, That it lay not in my power to conclude an absolute Neutrality for I was most strictly to observe y^e^ Commands of my King & his Gen^ll^ of Guyana, and till yee Orders c̃omanded y^e^ contrary, I should continue Neuter. And since he had shewed himself so extraordinary civil to y^e^ Colony, In case Orders should arrive to breake y^e^ Neutrality, I should like a gratefull & noble Enemy give Advice thereof, before I acted any hostility. But to Mons^r^ de Noell, who had not bin so obliging, I call God to witness, I never promised any such thing, though he hath very ignobly reported to the contrary.

Before this, I had presented y^e^ naked state of y^e^ Province to his Ex^cy^ & seriously sollicited for a large Supply of Armes & Am̃unic̃on.[1] But noe Ship arriving, And finding our Condic̃on very sad & exposed, I advised w^th^ y^e^ Councell & Sum̃oned y^e^ Assembly, w^ch^ passed an Act for every tenth working Negro throughout y^e^ Colony to be sent to Pramorabo to prepare materialls for a Fort. And I ordered five Files w^th^ a C̃omission Officer out of y^e^ other Companyes to attend constantly there to reinforce y^e^ Company at Pramorabo, & monthly to be releeved; out of w^ch^ I ordered a Watch at y^e^ Rivers mouth to give notice of y^e^ Enemies approach.

June last y^e^ Guard was fixt, & y^e^ Negroes began to work, at w^ch^ time a Vessell arrived from Barbadoes w^th^ y^e^ sad newes of y^e^ loss of S^t^ Christophers & brought me

[1] It was not Willoughby's fault that Surinam was inadequately supplied with arms & ammunition. Ever since the outbreak of the war he had been pleading & cajoling the Government to send out supplies. Writing to Lord Arlington on April 21st, 1666, he remarks, "what I cannot but admire at (is), that places of soe great consideration as these Islands are to y^e^ King, should bee noe more looked after nor regarded but left to looke to themselves, neyther soe much as any advice given when Warrs are proclaimed by soe powerfull a King as the French . . ." (C.O. 1/20, No. 59, P.R.O.)

order from his Ex^cy to erect a Fort at Pramorabo, & to send a party against Synnamarre & Cheyan. Whereupon I issued forth a Declarac̃on to be read at y^e head of every Company inviting all Voluntiers w^th great incouragement, & ordering them to appeare in complete Armes at Pramorabo y^e 27 of July. And that w^ch encreased ther number, was y^e forward proffer of Serjt. Major James Bannister to conduct them, in case he could raise 200 able men well armed. In the mean time I took all possible care for Indians, able Periagoes,[1] Provisions &c, for the Fleet. At y^e place & time prefixed many appeared, but of voluntiers short of ye number of 200, & many ill armed. At this time y^e Assembly presented to me & y^e Councell y^e great danger of sending so many of our ablest men to Wynward, whilst we lay exposed to the threatned Invasion of Berganasi[2] Governor of Barbice & y^e Arwacas from Leward. And therefore for y^e prevention of the suspected danger, I ordered about 70 Men against ye French under y^e Conduct of Cap^t William Cowell; And about 80 more Leward against y^e Dutch & Arwacas, & to relieve our men at Dissekebe & Bawrooma, who we feared were in distress under y^e Com̃and of Cap^t Christopher Rendar. And that Cap^t Cowell might be rightly informed of y^e strength & power of y^e Enemy, And that I might punctually performe my Parole w^th Mons^r de Lesie, I gave him a Letter to Mons^r de Noell, with another inclosed to Mons^r de Lesie Governor of Cheyan importing, That I had received positive Orders from his Ex^cy y^e Lord Gen^ll, That I should haue no Neutrality w^th them. This Letter was delivered about 3 of y^e Clock on Saturday in y^e afternoon: And about 4 on Sunday morning Capt Cowell w^th great courage & resoluc̃on fell on y^e Fort & took it, & slew 7 men, took ther Shallop & brought away

[1] *i.e.*, Canoes, Spanish *Piragua*, a corruption of the Carib word for a dug-out canoe.

[2] *i.e.*, Matthijs Bergenaar.

the Governor & about 50 more Prisoners, utterly destroying the whole Colony, and that w^th^out y^e^ loss of one man. Nor was Cap^t^ Rendar unsuccessfull at Leward, having stormed Two Warehouses of y^e^ Arwacas, and had other bickerings w^th^ them, wherein he slew about 30 men, & took 70 Captives. But for y^e^ reliefe of our men at Dissekebe, he came too late, who about 3 weeks before, through want of Aм̃unicõn & irresistable hunger, were forced to Surrender themselves & 200 slaves, w^ch^ they had taken, to Berganasi[1] who besieged them, but on good Articles, w^ch^ they complain he afterwards broke. And as for our poor men at Baurooma, they were also for want of timely supplies destroyed by y^e^ French, who most unhamanely (after they were starved out of y^e^ Fort) delivered them to y^e^ Cruelty of y^e^ Arwacas at y^e^ Mouth of that River to be massacred. This was informed me by one of that Fort, who was absent when it was taken, who learned it from y^e^ Indians.

And now in August, Gods Justice most sharply visited our transgressions, the Sicknes spreading throughout the whole Colony, w^th^ that violence & continuance, that it cutt of aboue 200 of our Men & very many Women & children. And so universall & raigning was the contagion at one time, that we could not make a 100 sound men in y^e^ whole Country to oppose an Enemy ; and not a Family that I know escaped it. Miserable were y^e^ Cryes, & deiected were y^e^ Spirits of all ; few or none knew y^e^ Nature or Cure of y^e^ Disease ; nor were there any Cordial means or Medicins proper for it in y^e^ whole Country. It was a most strange violent Feavor, burning w^th^in, & yet at y^e^ same time, y^e^ Feet & hands exceeding cold ;

[1] Edmundson (*op. cit.*) states that a point on the Essequibo, not far from the mouth of the Rupununi, is connected by a frequented path about 10 miles in length with the River Berbice. Without this path (which they almost certainly used) it would have been virtually impossible for Bergenaar and his men to have passed through the thick virgin forest.

but it had not y^e^ same operac̃on on all. Never was y^e^ like affliction seen in y^e^ Colony. Most of all our few Masons, & many Negroes w^ch^ were at work on y^e^ Fort were most sadly visited ; the w^ch^ w^th^ y^e^ difficulty of cutting our stones fr̃o under y^e^ ground w^th^ axes very much retarded y^e^ work. In this Month Capt. John Skewes arrived fr̃o Barbadoes, & brought us fr̃o his Ex^cy^ 6 Barrills of Pouder & some Match ; w^ch^ was exceeding welcome, for we very greatly wanted it.

At the return of Skewes I shipt off most of y^e^ chiefest of y^e^ French prisoners for Barbados, & also sent off Cap^t^ Enis y^e^ Provost Marshall to present to his Ex^cy^ the sad and dangerous Condic̃on of y^e^ Colony, & to sollicite for some Amunic̃on &c.

In November I was advised by one of our Men w^ch^ came fr̃o Amazonny, that at Cheyan he saw 7 saile of Ships. I was then weak & exceeding lame, & had bin so for 2 months before, whereupon I sent for Cap^t^ Nathaniel Clerke, & Gentleman of y^e^ Councell, whom I well knew to be vigilant, carefull & active, & gave him a Commission to be Deputy-Governor ; and then ordered 6 Periagoes to be a guard at y^e^ Rivers Mouth, till y^e^ Gates of y^e^ Fort were sett up, & we in a better posture of defence.

About y^e^ latter end of December, Cap^t^ Enys returned, but unfortunately fell Leward to Saramica & brought w^th^ him what possibly y^e^ Governor of Barbados could procure for me, but no pouder for none was then to be had ; and presented us w^th^ y^e^ dismall news of y^e^ Burning of London, & of y^e^ loss of his Ex^cy^ & his Fleet.[1] And that we might daily expect a French Fleet from Leward, who were victorious there, to attaq us. I was then weak, & so insufferably lame w^th^ y^e^ Gowt, that I was not able to stand ; yet to forward our defence, I went to y^e^ Fort

[1] See Account of Lord Willoughby's death, pp. 196-198 above.

in ye beginning of January, where I found ye Gates of it then just sett up ; but ye Wall in some places not 6 foot high. I then sum̃oned the Councel & Assembly about many businesses of very great importance ; And amongst other things, there past an Act for ye pay & support of a standing Company of 50 men besides Officers to be constant in ye fort during ye Warr under ye Command of Capt Willm̃ Cowell. About ye middle of February, ye Company was compleated wth voluntiers. We then alsoe resolved to fitt up a Shallop, yt was on ye stocks, & send her wth speed to Barbados for Am̃unic̃on & Intelligence. I then disperst Orders to all ye Officers in ye Colony what they should do upon ye Arrivall of ye Enemy, & ordered all Setlers to build private Houses over Swamps & in remote parts ; And to carry part of ther provisions thither ; And to remoove all ther Cattle & provisions out of ther Plantac̃ons, that ther wives children & slaves upon an Alarum might retire to them ; And also ordered all able Boats to be fitted up, & every man to be ready & well fixt, & provided constantly wth 12 days victualls beforehand. The Creekes of Para & Serena I ordered to be damned up wth great Trees to be fallen into it ; And ordered all about Promorabo to prepare themselves Hutts in remote parts in ye wood, or where the Woemen & children might upon Occasion fly to.

On the 15 of February I received ye Alarme of ye Arrivall of 8 Sayle in ye River, who we verily believed were French ; upon wch I presently sent Orders into ye Country & pulled downe & fired all ye Houses wthin Musquet shott of ye Fort.

Our Fort, or rather half a Fort, was on a plaine close by ye River side of a Pentagonicall forme, consisting of 5 Bastions, whereof only one Curtaine, one Bastion, & half another were Pallizadoed & perfected. The other(s) were 10 foot high excepting one Curtain & Bastion, wch faced ye River, the wch by reason of ye inequality of ye

Ground was but 8 or 9 foot in height. The Bastion & Curtain that were finished (wch were also to ye face of ye River) lying very much higher than all ye rest, became so exposed to the Land, that from thence the Enemy could without danger beat our Men from off them. I had 12 Guns mounted, whereof one a whole Culverin, a demy Culverin, a Saker, ye rest Minion & Falcon. Besides these, there were 9 other small Guns, for wch Carriages were preparing, severall of wch were brought frō Apervawacka & Synnamarre. I had about 100 men & sixty negroes (part of those wch were on ye work) & all my stock of powder exceeded not 4 Barrells. And for Balls for the whole Culverin, wch was ye most serviceable Gun, I had not one that would fitt, all being too high, & ye wall above ye Plattforme, where she stood was soe low that it secured not ye height of a mans knees ; nor had we sufficient earth brought in for our men to stand on to fix over ye Parapett ; But in stead thereof, raised plank on tottering stones, on wch by reason of ther height & for want of breadth, our men could not possibly oppose wth ye least conveniency.

On the 30 of December, stylo novo, there was sett forth by ye States of Zealand a Fleet of 7 Sayl, viz. : 4 Frigotts, a Victualler, a Dogger-Boat, & a Gally. At ye Canaries they took a small Irish man, they toucht at Cheyan, where they understood that Monsr la Barre was daily expected from ye Leward Ilands wth a Fleet designed for this place. The Governor earnestly desired them not to putt in here. The Dutch concealing ther Intention, took leave, & on ye Coast far wynward of this port, mett wth a small New England Ketch, one Evans, Master, who supposing he had bin Leward of Surynam kept 5 dayes beating up to Windward, till he became a prize to ye Fleet.

On the 15 of February, they arrived in ye River 8 Sayle in all ; & on ye 16 came to Anchor about half a League

below ye Fort, & then sent me this Sum̃ons in Dutch & French.

> "Sr, being come hither by ye Com̃and of ye High & puissant Lords, ye Estates, my Masters, to incorporate ye Fort, wch you com̃and, this is ye reason that I send you this Drummer wth this Letter, to ye End, That in such case, Your self, & all ye Inhabitants of ye Country shall absolutely retaine ye Entire property & possession of what they haue wthout loss of ye least thing. But in case you refuse it, I am resolved to attaque you by Sea & Land, wth ye designe of killing all that shall oppose, not giving Quarter to any one. You may regulate Yourself hereupon—Whilst I attend an Answer to this Letter, wthin one quarter of an houre wthout any delay. Dated in ye Ship *Zealand* 26 Febr: 1667.
>
> Abraham Crynsens."

To whom I returned this Answer.

> "Sr, I have received your peremptory Sum̃ons; And as you are Com̃anded by your Masters to take this Fort; so am I comanded by my King & his Gentt of Guyana to keep it; wch I shall endeavr to do against all Opposers; and so you may act your hostility as soon as you please. Willoughby Fort. Febr: 16, 1667.
>
> William Biam."

This was done on Saturday in the afternoon, & about 7 or 8 a Clock on Sunday Morning neer high water, they all weighed, & came all 4 Frigotts to an Anchor just before ye Fort (wch we never suspected). And then we mutually plyed our Guns as fast as we could, wch continued for ye space of 2 or 3 houres. And then ye Enemy sent ther Dogger-Boat, a Ketch, & a Shallop as full of men as possibly they could hold, & ran ashore in a Bay aboue the Fort; & to welcome them, I had com̃anded an Ensigne wth 4 Files out of my small Number, to attend ther Arrivall.

That part of y^e^ Fort w^ch^ was imperfect towards the River, being very Low, y^e^ Enemy shott over, & Com̃anded from ther Decks & Quarter-Deck aboue half y^e^ inside of y^e^ Fort, scouring two of y^e^ Curtains, where our men were to stand to oppose. In one of our Bastions, where we thought our men secure, they shivered 2 of our Mens Leggs & Thighs, & placed some of their Shott w^thin^ 3 Foot of y^e^ Foundac̃on of y^e^ Wall w^thin^ side. Besides the Fort being high where the Curtaine & Bastion were compleated, & low towards the Land but 10 foot, y^e^ Enenemies shott would not permitt a man to stand on them. Our Negroes whom I had armed w^th^ Launces to oppose an Assault, lay flatt on their Bellies. Two of our Guns were dismounted, our powder began to be very low, but a Barrell of 50^lb^ & a quarter left. In this Condic̃on foreseing an Impossibility to keep y^e^ Fort fro y^e^ approaching storme. I sent for all y^e^ Com̃ission Officers, & one of ye Councell, who was then w^th^ me, & y^e^ chief Gunner (who w^th^ y^e^ rest of y^e^ Gunners behaved themselves exceeding well) and advised w^th^ them, whether y^e^ place were tenable or not ; who all concluded it was not, because we wanted Am̃unic̃on, & y^e^ Enemies shott com̃anded y^e^ inside of y^e^ Curtain, where our men should stand to defend. And therefore I thought it greater discretion to yeeld on hono^ble^ terms, if to be had, then to oppose to no purpose. But if Condicons of Honor were denied us, we were resolved to dye in y^e^ Fort w^th^ Honor. Whereupon I caused a Flagg of Truce to be hung out, & a Parley to be beaten, & proposed my Terms to y^e^ Admirall, w^ch^ he granted, and they were these.

Willoughby Fort, Febr. 17, 1667.

"It was this day concluded & agreed upon between Lieutenant Gen^ll^ Willm̃ Byam, Governor of y^e^ Province of Willoughby Land, & Mons^r^ Abraham Crynsens Commander in Chiefe of y^e^ Dutch Fleet, now before the said Fort, That y^e^ said Lt. Gen^ll^

Byam is to march forthwith out of ye said Fort wth all his Officers & soldiers wth flying colours, light Matches, Drums beating, Aũnicõn for every soldier, viz.: 12 shott a piece, wth ther Armes. And both they, & all ye poor people about ye Fort to haue liberty to take away all that they haue therein assoon as they can; And also to haue free Liberty to go up into ye Country, or where they please. And the said Fort, wth all ye Amunicon & Artillery therein, & all ye Provisions that were sett in for ye use of ye Soldiers to be delivered up to ye said Monsr Crynsens or order. But anything else that is not here expressed besides ye Artillery, Aũnicõn & ye said Provisions, the said Monsr Crynsens is not to expect; In witness whereof, the said Lieutent Genll Willm Byam & ye sd Monsr Crynsens have interchangeably sett ther hands & seales to two of these Articles of ye same tenor & Date.

Abraham Crynsens."

The Fort being surrendred, ye Commissioners who were appointed by ye States for ye Land required the Armes of ye Soldiers, after they were marcht out, wch I told them was contrary to ye Articles. Whereupon there arose a Dispute; to suppress wch, they published a Declaracõn at ye head of ye Company, assuring all ye Inhabitants in & about ye Fort, That they should fairly enjoy ther estates, & haue all privileges, it they would lay down ther Arms, and swear Fidelity to ye States; the wch, some for gain, others for Fear, did, & so were dismist. This day Capt: Goose arrived in ye River, & was taken.

Before night severall of our men inlisted themselves in the Dutch Service and told them that they would show them every Creek & Corner of ye Countrey, & direct them where our Provisions, Cattle, & Negroes were hid.

The Sixty Negroes what were in ye Fort, marcht forth wth me, & I ordered a person to launch a Boat & carry them

up into y^e^ Country, w^ch^ whilst he was doing, the soldiers by order stopt, & put them into ye Fort, & contrary to y^e^ Articles detained them. That night I left the Fort, & about 2 a Clock in y^e^ Morning 2 Leagues from y^e^ Fort, I mett Capt : Clerke w^th^ 14 Periagoes from aboue, coming down to my assistance, whom I informed of y^e^ necessity of y^e^ surrender. And so we went up to y^e^ Town of Toorarica, where I expected severall of my Soldiers, w^ch^ were in y^e^ Fort, would have followed me ; but y^e^ Enemy had putt all y^e^ Boats a drifte that they could not come up. Here I found our men divided ; some were for a Peace, hearing the faire pretences of y^e^ Enemies, that they came not to destroy, but to build, & that all should enjoy ther Estates ; and others were for Warr, & would stand it out to y^e^ last, & goe up y^e^ Falls, or break into y^e^ Woods, & destroy all before y^e^ Enemy should enjoy it. And those that would cleave to y^e^ Enemy & refuse to ioyne w^th^ them, should be y^e^ first whose House & Canes they would burne, & whose Plantac̃ons they would ruine. I was exceeding sorry to heare of these Divisions, w^ch^ aboded no good, And to see that many had not observed my Orders in bringing down w^th^ them 12 days provisions ; for they already called out for want, and would needs home, whose dwellings were remote. I then took some care for ther present supply, & sent for y^e^ Councell & Assembly to meet on Tuesday following, & im̃ediately dispatched 2 men to remaine at y^e^ mouth of Saramica to advise how things stood, if any of our ships should fall in there. For we were advised that Cap^t^ : Colvile & others would suddenly be on y^e^ Coast. The next day I was advised from Para, that y^e^ Ensigne there when he heard the Fleet were Dutch & not French, stript his Colours, & refused to fight, & some of the soldiers (also). Others mutynied against ther Officers Orders, remained at home, & would not stirr ; And of 90 men in y^e^ Creek, but 40 appeared in Arms. Severall also of y^e^ chiefest Gentlemen who intended to stand it out foreseeing

y^e^ incurable ruine misery in case of long opposic̃on, & y^e^ French Fleet dayly expected, & how they must leave many of ther Friends, who lay exceeding sick, as a prey to y^e^ Enemy, inclined to a Peace, so it might be on very hono^ble^ terms. And having received some overtures from the Enemy of his complyance in honour, I thought it prudence to prevent y^e^ ruine of severall of y^e^ most considerable Plantac̃ons, w^ch^ lay exposed to ther fury & rapine, as they came up, & before they had treated w^th^ us. And therefore I sent the Marshall w^th^ a Letter to y^e^ Admirall, that if he intended y^e^ good of y^e^ Inhabitants as he profest, I desired him to forbeare y^e^ acting any hostility till wee had treated. And in y^e^ mean while I advanced towards him w^th^ our Periago Fleet consisting of 14, in w^ch^ were Christians & Jewes 168 men, old & yong, sick, lame & sound, besides Negroes, & some Indians that padled y^e^ Boats. I had many Indians came into me w^th^ Bundles of Warr-arrowes, but brought not a bitt of bread ; so that hunger inforced them quickly to returne. I cañot but praise y^e^ gallantry of y^e^ Inhabitants of Serynoe, who after they had damd ther Creek w^th^ store of im̃oveable trees, they nobly sent unto me, that they defied y^e^ Enemy (knowing ther habitac̃ons were inaccessible) & would readily come over into y^e^ River, whenever I would appoint them, who had no less than 8 miles of sad way to travaile over.

On Wednesday night I received a friendly Answer of my Letter from y^e^ Admirall, who desired 2 Gentlemen for hostages in lieu of two that he would send up.

On Thursday as many of y^e^ Councell as were able, w^ch^ were 3, whereof but one, viz : Cap^t^ Clerke was well, mett ; to whom I imparted y^e^ reality of all transac̃cons, & sent for y^e^ Assembly, & told them, though I might now by force take from y^e^ Inhabitants what necessity required ; Yet as I never leavyed anything w^thout^ ther consents, so neither would I now in time of warr, w^thout^ ther

approbac̃on, so long as I could call them together; And earnestly desired that now in this grand necessity, they would speedily order sufficient provisions for y^e^ present supply of our Fleet from all y^e^ neighboring Plantac̃ons, And a store up higher in y^e^ River, where we might be furnished, when we should be forced to retreat. The Gentlemen, after Consultac̃on, returned w^th^ this Answer, That ther persons & estates were devoted to serve ther King & for y^e^ defence of y^e^ Country; they desired, that I would send Officers, & take what I wanted, & where I pleased, but humbly desired, That I & y^e^ Councell would seriously peruse & consider of y^e^ Paper, w^ch^ they presented, w^ch^ contained this.

"From y^e^ Hono^ble^ L^t^ Gen^ll^ Willm̃ Byam & the rest of y^e^ Councell to his Ex^cy^ Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, the humble Address or Representac̃on of y^e^ Assembly being y^e^ representative Body of y^e^ Colony of Surynam.

Sheweth,

That whereas we being deeply sensible, as well of y^e^ trust reposed in us by y^e^ Inhabitants of this Colony, as of our present dangerous estate, having so powerfull an Enemy in y^e^ midst of us, whose force we are neither able to resist, or expell; And it being y^e^ earnest & importunate desires of y^e^ good people of this Colony, That in this present Juncture of Affaires, even when we are ingaging unto blood w^th^ so much of disadvantage & in all Probability so little hopes of success, we should now represent unto your Hono^rs^ y^e^ miserable & sad condic̃on, under y^e^ following Considerac̃ons, w^ch^ we humbly offer to your prudent Judgements & most serious thoughts.

That through y^e^ late heavy Visitac̃on of sickness, one 4th part of our ablest men are swept away, & of those few of us w^ch^ remaine alive, one third part are still sick, weak, unfit for service, & unable to contribute any thing of defence against an Enemy so farr surmounting us in number, equipage, & all provisions

for Warr. And such of us as are healthy are divided & dispersed at great distances, w^ch^ of necessity must be so ; otherwise they or their Families must suddenly starve & perish, provisions at this time being in so great a Scarcity.

That both y^e^ L^t^ Gen^ll^ by his infirmity, & great distemper, & also his Serj^t^ Major at present, very dangerously sick, are unable for accon, & we destitute of their Conduct in this our great necessity. That if we stand out in long opposicon, the Enemy will daily burn, ruine & destroy our habitacons, & settlements, & wee unable to check or hinder them ; & our slaves, when once in distress (if not sooner) will fly away from us.

That from y^e^ French, of whose merciless Cruelty, y^e^ English in y^e^ Neighbor Ilands haue lately had very sad experience, a Fleet is hourely expected ; and we also feare y^e^ Invasion of y^e^ Arwaca Indians, who will effect such mischiefe, as will consequently produce y^e^ inevitable ruine of us all.

That many of our men are allready most traiterously fallen to y^e^ Enemy, who will proue very pernicious to us in guiding them to all our Creeks & private places, & discovering our provision, Cattle & Goods, as also all or y^e^ most part of our Christian Servants ; & persons dishonest & in debt will undoubtedly very speedily desert us, & repaire to them.

And lastly, considering, That as we have few or no Medicines for wounded men, our whole store of Amunicon exceeds not 6 Barrells, & that expended, we must surcease the contest of Warr ; & betake our selves to y^e^ miserable refuge or flying into y^e^ woods w^th^ our wives, Children & Familyes for safety, & at last, after a finall ruine, if we escape all other perills, y^e^ necessity of nature will force us to a shamefull yielding up our selves. For any reliefe as in all likelihood we can expect none from his Majesty our most Gracious Soveraigne ; soe haue we not so much as hopes of any from our proprietors, who never yet assisted us but w^th^ 6 Barrells of pouder, & a

little match; nor can we haue thoughts of any kindness or succour from Barbados, who so lately were very unwilling to spare a little Lime-stone.

For all wch reasons we do aswell in ye behalf of our selves, as of ye Inhabitants of ye Colony intrusting us, earnestly pray Your Honrs, aswell for ye removing of ye before-recited danger, & sad inconveniencies, so for ye preserving of those fortunes & estates, wch many of us brought hither, & others, by many years industry, & the painfull sweat of ther browes haue attained; That you will rather seek a speedy accomdacõn, & embrace composicõn upon safe & honoble termes, then to persist in a warr, wch we haue no abilities to perform, & wch must unavoydably procure ye utter ruine of us all, our Children & posterity.

But in respect that we suppose ye Enemy for ther own interest, & out of ther desire to settle ye trade of this Colony in themselues, wch will undoubtedly much promote their advantage & gaine, are, we conceive, in themselves inclinable to a Treaty; And that we only for ye Causes aforesaid to prevent that sudden devastacõn, wch they will bring upon us, haue made this motion of peace. We further humbly desire, That such articles of Treaty, as shall be proposed, may be such, as may certainly secure us in our Estates and Liberties, & leaue no shame of dishonour or Cowardice upon us, nor haue any Consequence of abjuring that allegiance we owe to our naturall Soveraigne Liege Lord, his Maty: of Great Britaine. And we also humbly desire for our selves, & the people, that high favour of your Honors, That ye Body of Articles you shall agree upon may be imparted to us before sent to ye Enemy.

Robert Collinson, Stephen Neale, Jaber Whittaker, Thomas Sergeant, John Uzpeth, William Parker, Augustine Story, John Thorne."

After a considerable view of ye Paper, we found the Representatives had fully & truly stated our Condicon. And hearing ye defection of many of our men flying to

y^e^ Enemy, & of y^e^ Insolencies of our Negroes, killing our stock, breaking open Houses, threatning our Woemen, & some flying into y^e^ woods in Rebellion, And finding y^e^ generality inclining to a Peace (the Enemy having sent Emissaries of our own men), applauding their civilitie, extolling ther promises, & asserting y^e^ assurance of Supplies, w^ch^ we ever wanted; we sent Cap^t^ Aug: Story, & M^r^ William Parker for Hostages aboard, & in y^e^ meane drew up these Proposalls.

Proposals to y^e^ Enemy.[1]

* * *

On Fryday y^e^ 4 of March, stylo novo, Came y^e^ States Comm^ers^ to Toorarica, viz.: Cap^t^ Lidenberge, & Cap^t^: Rame, Coñanders of standing Companies in Zealand. There were w^th^ me of y^e^ Councell Serj^t^: Maior Thomas Noell miserably weak, hardly able to goe, Cap^t^: Nathaniel Clerke, & Mr Oliver Humphryes, who was very weak through his long sickness. The first and sharpest dispute in our Treaty arose about our Allegiance to our King; & after a long contest, we concluded on y^e^ Oath in y^e^ Articles, w^ch^ we presume no Subiect in our Condiĉon but might take it *Salvo honore et conscientiâ.*

The next thing, w^ch^ they bogled at was his Ex^cys^ Estate, & y^e^ Interest of all absent persons, w^ch^ we stood stifly to reserve & uphold. But at length they told us, That they could proceed no further, unless we yeelded to y^e^ confiscaĉon of them; for they were strictly bound up by ther Orders from y^e^ States not to treate unless that we consented to y^e^ forfeiture of them. At length we desired to lay aside, & note such Articles as for y^e^ present we could not agree on, & proceed, & see what we mutually would assent unto.

[1] The proposals set out in twenty-seven paragraphs are omitted, having been superseded after long negotiation by the Articles set out below. One of the proposals was "that no Oath be imposed on y^e^ English y^t^ shall inhabite here w^ch^ may in the least grate against ther allegiance to ther King."

The Treaty was tedious, we not understanding Dutch well, neither they English, so that all things were twice translated ; by wch delay through the insinuating infidelity of some of our men, they better understood ye distraction & weakness of our Condicõn, wch made them not only to recede from what they intended to grant, but to impose more difficult terms on us. And amongst other things, they demanded no less then 500,000lb Sugar, for a present to ye States. We proffered them 30,000lb, & they would haue taken 50,000lb, had not ye forward & ignoble prodigality of some proffered in ther hearing, very largely, so that a peace were concluded, & that they might save ther Estates ; wch made them not abate an Ounce of 100,000lb. Every day they would alter something, & propose higher demands ; And therefore we thought it best, considering our tottering Condicõn & hourely fearing ye Arrivall of ye French Fleet, wch would haue lessened ye honor & goodness of our Articles, to delay no more time, but to hasten to a conclusion ; for we could not expect ye least reliefe. And therefore on ye 6th of ye aforesaid Month about 12 at night, These Articles were signed.

Articles concluded upon between Comander Abraham Crynsens, Admirall of a Squadron of Ships, belonging unto ye Noble & Mighty Lords, ye States of Zealand, & Colonel William Byam late Lieut. Genll of Guyana & Governor of Willoughby Land.

1. That all Revenues whatsoever, guifts, or Land, wch are appointed for ye Use of ye Church & Maintenance of Ministers, especially ye Rent of John Allens Estate given for that end by my Lord Willoughby, be absolutely reserved for that end ; to wit, aswell for ye payment of Dutch, as English Ministers. That ye English shall have ye election of ther owne Ministers, the same to be paid ther exhibicõns as well as ye Dutch,

from y^e^ said Revenue. That, the present Minister, M^r^ George Vernon be satisfied his Arreares from M^r^ Marcus Munnicke out of y^e^ said Rents. And that all persons of what Nac̃on soever haue free Liberty of Conscience in matters of Religion, whose opinions & practise is not inconsistent w^th^ y^e^ Government.

2. That no other Oath shall be required of y^e^ English but y^e^ following. 'I A.B. do in y^e^ presence of Almighty God promise from my heart, & faithfully sweare to be true & faithfull to y^e^ noble & mighty Lords y^e^ States of Zealand here in Surynam whilst I shall live in it; And will neither directly nor indirectly endeavour to oppose or undermine y^e^ same; And shall to my utmost assist & fight against all ther Enemies whatsoever that shall come to attaque or annoy them; But in case my Soveraigne Lord y^e^ King of England, my Lord Willoughby or any whatsoever of y^e^ Subiects of y^e^ King of England shall come to attaque Surynam; In that case I do sweare, that I will keep my self quiett & neither directly nor indirectly assist them; And if it shall please y^e^ Governor, render my selfe a prisoner in his hands."

3. That all persons whatsoever, & of what Nac̃on soever, whether they be English, Jewes &c, that at present do personally inhabite Surynam w^th^ ther families, shall haue absolutely reserved, & confirmed unto them, ther Estates, Lands, Goods, of what nature & Condic̃on soever, to enjoy inherite & possess them to themselves, & their heires for ever, w^th^out y^e^ least opposic̃on, molestac̃on or hinderance. But that all those that do not live in Surynam, & yet haue estates herein, be absolutely excluded out of this Article, notwithstanding that they haue persons that do represent ther persons & families; And y^t^ all ther Estates of what nature & specie soever from henceforth be absolutely confiscated unto y^e^ Province of Zealand, according to ther Lordships Order.

4. That all present Inhabitants of what Nac̃on soever shall have & enjoy all equall privileges, as y^e^ Netherlanders, that shall cohabite w^th^ them.

5. In case any Inhabitants of this Colony shall now or hereafter intend to depart hence, he shall haue power to sell his Estate ; & ye Governor in that case shall procure that he be transported at moderate freight together wth ther (sic) Estates.

6. That ye Liberty of Fishing & Turtling upon ye Bayes, as before, & to trade wth ye Indians is permitted ; provided they haue a Ticket from ye Governor.

7. That they shall have Liberty to cutt Specklewood.

8. That we shall be furnished wth Indian Trade.

9. That all Acts, Lawes & Declaracõns shall be published in ye Dutch, & English Tongues, because that the Inhabitants do not understand ye Dutch Language, & that the Inhabitants shall be governed by ye Netherland-Lawes.

10. That there be no prohibicõn upon ye Planters to make any thing a Coõodity for ther best proffits.

11. That ye Charibees, our Neighbors, shall be used civilly ; & that Care shall be taken, that we, & our Estates shall not be endamaged by ye Dutch, French or other Indian Nacõns.

12. That all persons present Inhabitants in ye Rivers of Cummaweene & Maupawny are included wth in these Articles.

13. That ye Inhabitants shall keep only so many Arms as every one in his Family shall need to keep his Negroes in awe, & to defend themselves against ye Indians, wilde Beasts, & all other Vermins, the rest of ye Armes to be delivered up.

14. That ye Inhabitants shall rayse 100,000lb of Sugar for ye noble & mighty Lords, ye States of Zealand to take it with them.

15. That ye Inhabitants shall pay, till further Order, ye same Imposicõns & beare ye same charges, wch were imposed on them before the Country was conquered, according to ye Tenor of an Act made by my Ld. Willoughby, wch shall be putt into our hands.

16. That ye Records shall be delivered & secured in ye hands of the Governor; And that a perfect List shall be given in of ye Inhabitants, Slaves, Cattell, Coppers &c wch are in ye Countrey; as also a perfect List of ye Christian & Hebrew Inhabitants that are in every Division.

17. That 60 Negroes shall be sent by ye Inhabitants to work at ye Fort for 4 months, if occasion shall require them so long.

18. That all Inhabitants wch are willing to go off wth ye Fleet shall not be detained in ye least, by any Debts contracted before ye date of these Articles; And that Commrs shall be appointed who best understand the Nature of those Matters, wth full power to examine ye Debts, aswell of such as go off, as of those wch remaine Inhabitants, & of such as leave Attorneys behind them, & to make them to pay the same, the Governor after sentence of ye Commrs being to assist them, that those that are condemned to pay, & refuse, may be compelled thereunto.

19. That such as intend off shall be furnished wth a vessell to transport themselves wth ther slaves & goods &c. wth a Pass from Coñander Crynsens; And be permitted to take ther sloopes wth them, provided they sett sayle together wth us.

20. That all & every expression in all & every Article aforesaid shall at all times, & ever be interpreted according to ye right meaning, mind & true intent of ye words & expressions; & at no time wrested to ye preiudice of ye Inhabitants.

21. That this present Treaty be confirmed by ye Lords ye States of Zealand as soon as it is possible: And that an authentique Copy thereof be sent thither wth all expedicõn for further Security of the Inhabitants of this Colony; And the said authentique Copy be delivered unto them. This done on board the Ship *Zealand* ye 6 of March stylo novo 1667.

ABRAHAM CRYNSENS. WILLIAM BYAM.

Besides these[1] there were others, w^ch^ the Comm^rs^ would not haue placed in y^e^ Generall Articles, for y^e^ performance of w^ch^ they engaged ther Honors.

1. That absent Orphanes Estates should be reserved unto them.

2. That Cap^t^ Colvile who was daily expected in, should haue what part he had in his Ship reserved unto him, & what goods &c did properly belong both to him & any other Inhabitants.

3. That y^e^ Prisoners of Barbice should be released, & our men at Cheyan; & that y^e^ Seamen taken coming hither, or in y^e^ River, should be sett a shoare at Barbadoes.

4. That all Persons now living on y^e^ Confiscated Estates, & by vertue of any Articles made w^th^ ther imployers, shall haue y^e^ possession thereof accordingly they paying for it unto y^e^ Lords y^e^ States of Zealand what they were bound to do to ther imployers during

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[1] The version of the MS. which is preserved at the British Museum (*Sloane* 3662) here inserts the following passage.—" In Aprill 1667 Capt. Crynsens sayled from Surynam for the takeing in the Island tobago, leaveing Capt. Ram, Commander of this Land force and Governor for the Lords of Zealand ": which curiously enough is identical with Major Scott's *Description of Guyana*. See p. 146 above. The fortunes that befell Crynsen & his fleet after leaving Surinam are described by Lord William Willoughby in a letter to Clarendon (dated May 25th, 1667) :—" the Dutch Men of Warre abouementioned, having taken in Suranam, & resettled Barbicias (*i.e.*, Berbice) & Tobago, bent their course to Martinico, where they found (beside the old Ships) six Men of Warre newly arrived from Francc . . . All these being joyned together, they tooke in 1500 men from Martinico & Guadalupe, & set saile for Neuis, being in all (as Captain Berry reckons them) twenty men of Warre from 24 Guns to 40, beside 10 or 12 lesser Vessels. De la Barre was with them in the *Coventry*, and according to o^r^ best Intelligence commanded in cheife. Their intention was, first to destroy or ships in Neuis Road, & then (hauing brought up more Men from St. Christophers) to invade the Island, De la Barre hauing declared he would give no Quarter. On the 10th instant at six in the morning they were discouered by o^r^ Fleet (being 10 saile & a fire ship) who engaged them about eight, & fought them till two to Leeward. Then hauing gained the wind, the enemy bore away, We chasing them to Basseterre in St. Christophers. Had not o^r^ powder & shott been neer spent, especially in the merchant ships, we had certainly set upon them on the morrow . . ." (*Clarendon MSS.*, Bodleian, v. 84, ff. 177–178.

y^e^ time of ther Agreement & afterwards surrender up the possession thereof unto whom they shall appoint.

5. That our men coming from Bawrooma shall haue free liberty to goe off or stay. (For L^t^ Everard who was L^t^ at Dissekebe w^th^ 12 more, were, as I was informed coming up to Surynam, he sadly wounded in y^e^ Belly, & y^e^ others in a most miserable condic̃on, being all that were left of our Men at Bawrooma & Dissekebe; all y^e^ rest perishing for want of supplies).

6. That y^e^ property of y^e^ Negroes detained in y^e^ Fort, w^ch^ we avere to be contrary to y^e^ Articles & they avouch y^e^ Contrary, be Left to y^e^ decision of y^e^ States of Zealand.

It may be expected that I should give a perfect account of what men were in y^e^ Colony at y^e^ Fleets Arrivall, w^ch^ I shall very faithfully doe.

In July last I had an exact List of all y^e^ 4 Companyes, w^ch^ amounted to more than seaven hundred Men. I have now received perfect Lists, w^ch^ I am to deliver to y^e^ Comm^rs^ according to y^e^ Articles; And I find in all both Officers & Soldiers about five hundred Men; from w^ch^, if we deduct y^e^ Superannuated, y^e^ sick, y^e^ weeke, y^e^ lame, w^ch^ were really so at present, I justly averre we had not three hundred men sound in y^e^ whole Country & those at very remote distances, by reason of their dispersed Settlements.

To conclude; a Universall & continued sickness, an Imperfect, half built & unfurnished Fort, y^e^ vast distance of our Settlements, an unable & divided people, the age, Sickness, weakness & backwardness of many, y^e^ infidelity of more, y^e^ want of Amunic̃on, y^e^ insolent Disorders of our own Negroes; y^e^ dayly expectac̃on of y^e^ merciless French, & y^e^ utter despaire of any relief, were y^e^ Confluence

of united Judgments, w^ch^ our Sinnes had ripened; all concurring to subject us under y^e^ yoke of our Enemies.[1]

WILLIAM BYAM.

(ix) "AN EXACT NARRATIVE CONCERNINGE THE TAKEINGE THE ISLAND OF CAYENNE FROM THE FRENCH, & THE FORT & COLLONY OF SURRYNAM FROM THE DUTCH JULY 1667."[2]

About the sixteenth or Eighteenth off this Instant, at a Councell of Warre held in Neavis Roade, on board His Majesties Shipp *Lyon*, by Sir John Harman, Knight, Leuit. Genll. Henry Willoughby, Governor James Russell, S^r^ Tobias Bridgge, & seuerall other officers, It was

[1] On receipt of the news of the surrender of Surinam, Lord William Willoughby vented his wrath upon Byam's head, charging him with cowardice. "It was surrendered," he wrote to Clarendon, "upon Articles to one Crynsen, who lay before it with 4 or 5 Men of Warre. He receiued it in the name of the Noble & Mighty States of Zeland (Brewers & Cheesemongers I presume most of them to be) & hath left there a Garrison of 130 men. I thought Byam would have defended it to the last, but he yielded without a stroke, & still remaines there. When we have regained it (which I hope will not be long if God prosper us to the Leeward) we shall knowe what he hath to say for himselfe." (*Clarendon MSS.* Vol. LXXXIV, f. 177–178.) According to Byam's own statement, this bad impression was made worse by the personal slanders of his enemy Robert Sandford. After Sir John Harman recaptured Surinam, Byam was accordingly tried by court martial, but was acquitted. (See below, pp. 246–250. Also cf. Byam's own account to Sir Robert Harley. *H.M.C.*, XIV, 2, *Portland MSS.*, III, pp. 308–310.)

[2] "A Narrative of the Leuit. Gen. & Sir J. Harman's proceedings from Nevis till theire returne to Barbados." (C.O. 1/19, No. 90, ff. 172–189, Public Record Office.) After a powerful attack upon St. Christophers by this expedition had been beaten off with loss (June 7th, 1667), Henry Willoughby and his men retired to Nevis to reorganise, where in a few days' time they were joined by Sir John Harman with powerful reinforcements. But it was decided to abandon any further attempt on St. Christophers, and as the hurricane season was approaching, Lord William Willoughby ordered the expedition to return to Barbados, where they arrived on August 8th. (Lord Willoughby's report to the Privy Council. C.O. 1/21, No. 162, P.R.O.). Willoughby, who had inherited his brother's rights in Surinam, had set his heart on regaining it from the Dutch; and so after refitting at Barbados the expedition set forth again on the enterprise here described.

concluded & agreed uppon, That the Souldiers & Seamen vnder Theire seuerall Comands were In no wise Capeable off Re-attacqueing The Island off St. Christophers by Reason off the greate Nomber of the French Souldery & seuerall New Fortifycations lately made vppon that Island.

Wherevppon to Forward his Majesties Seruice, and avoyd Lyeinge still, Itt is agreed vppon Betweene the Hon^{ble} Sr John Harman, and Leuit. Gen^{ll} Henry Willoughby to Designe for some other place.

In persuance whereof, The Leuit. Gen^{ll} Imediately Modells Two small Regiments of foote, each contayninge Six Companyes, The First Regiment as his Owne, Comanded by Leuit. Collonel Phillip Warner, Consistinge of Fiue Hundred Officers & Souldiers; The second Comanded by Collonel Samuell Barry, haueinge in itt Three Hundred & Fifty Officers and Souldiers. Whilst the Leuit-Gen^{ll} Is thus Imploy'd, Sr John Harman takes order for Theire provisions to be brought on board, & accomodation to be fitted for theire transporte.

The Souldery are all Imbarked, and on The 27th S^{r} John Harman sett sayle In the Shipps *Lyon*, *Boneadventure*, *Jersey*, *Assistance*, *Assurance*, *Norwich*, *Willoughby* (*Roe* and *Portsmouth* Ketches), One Galliote and a Sloope, leaueing for the Guard of Neavis, vnder The Comand off Capt. William Poole, The Shipps *Crowne*, *Newcastle*, *Coronation*, *East India Merchant*, *Douer* and a Fire shipp. Soe Standinge away to the East, On the 29th They Came to an anchor In Mount Serratt Harbour, where the Fleete speedily wattered, and Setting Sayle, on the Eighth they arriued in the Roade off Barbados.

Here Supplyinge our Watter againe, and takeinge in Guides and other Nessessaries, Two or three dayes were spent, In which Tyme Indeauouringe to Carreene the Galliote Hoy, she suncke and could not be recouered. *f. 172b* Here itt was The Generall Vogue that they were bound

for Cayenne, Syrranam, and if Possible for the Berbishes. Soe with a good winde, and Fayre weather, on the 10th They left The Barbados.

August 19th.

Att a Councell of Warre, held on board His Majesties Shipp *Lyon*. It was concluded and agreed on, Vizt.

Sir John Harman	Leuit. Genll. Henry Willoughby
Captain James Carterrett	
Captain William Hamon	Collonel Samuell Barry
Captain John Norbrooke	Leuit. Coll. Phillip Warner
Captain William Smith	Major James Walker
Captain William Musendine	Major Thomas Canes
Captain Edward Ewre	Captain William Birdall

i. Thatt the Island of Cayenne, now in possession of the French (noe vnforeseene accident interveneinge) be first attacqu'd & sett vpon.

2dly. Thatt Major Richard Steeuens Comand The Forlorne Hope for thatt attacque, which forlorne are to Consist off Eighty Choice & well Experienced Souldiers, Compleately Armed, and Thatt he take to him for his Second, Captain Morris Williames, & for theire assistance Leuit. Rowland Williames, Leuit. William Cowell, & Tower Sergts. and thatt he stricktly follow Such orders as shall be to him directed by the Leuit. Generall.

3dly. Thatt there be drawne forth of the Fleete (as a Reserue to the Forlorne) Three Companyes of Seamen, Each Company to Consist off Sixtie Choyce and well armed Marriners to be comanded by Capt. John Norbourow, Capt. William Hamon, Capt. James Carterrett. These to be assisted with such persons for Inferiour Officers, as shall be appoynted to them, and each and Euery of them, are Stricktly to obserue Such orders as shall be directed to them from Sir John Harman.

4thly. Thatt the Comanders of Euery Shipp & Vessell in This Squadron doe deliuer (when therunto Requested) vnto the comanders off Such Souldiers as are on board of them, Such quantityes off powder Ball and Match as the Comander off the sayd Souldiers shall thinck Conuenient to attacque the Enemy withall. *f. 173.*

5thly. Thatt the afforementioned Reserve of Seamen after Landinge in their Marches doe constantly Keepe att one hundred yards distance from the Reare of The Forlorne, and thatt if the said Forlorne shall need Releife the Comander thereof is to direct his order to Capt. John Norbourow as Senior Capt. by Lott cast by himself, Hamon & Carterrett.

Att this meetinge The Leiut. Generall ordered The Residue of his Infantry in whatt forme they should Land after the afforementioned Party.

Papers and Guides being now agayne examin'd, They all Generally agree in their Seuerall Relations thatt we are to expect on Cayenne noe lesse then Six or Seauen Hundred well equypt French Foote with a Stronge Forte, haueinge in itts Platt-formes Forty peece of ordnance, most of which by the Sequell prou'd true.

Orders
For the Imbarkeinge off The Forlorne
and Itts Reserue att Their Landeinge
att Cayenne.

Major Steeuens with the Forlorne to be putt all on board The Sloope and to be Carryed as Farre in as shee may goe with Safty, Then to be taken in, to the *Lyon* and assistances Longboates, and with them to be sett on shoare.

Captain Norbourows Company, Captn Hamons Company, and Captain Carterretts Company, to be putt on board the Portsmouth Ketch, Each Captain, Pinnace and Long-boate attendinge them, to putt them on Shoare, when the Ketch should Come in Shoal-water

The Generalls Regiment to be putt into the other Small Shipps & Ketch, thence to be landed with all Convenient speed Collonel Barry's Regiment Successiuely after him in like manner.

The Day Followeing these Ensueinge orders were written and Sent to the Seuerall officers whome they Concerne.

f. 173*b*. By the Leuit. Generall.

"Sir,

You are hereby ordered to Receive forth off mine and Collonel Barryes Regiment Eighty Choyce Priuate Souldiers well armed, Three Corporalls included, together with Two Leuits., Foure Serjents, and then to dispose off into Two Diuisions accordinge to your owne discretion; one of which to be comanded vnder you by Captain Morris Williames, and the whole to be att your Comand and the Forlorne Hope for The attacqueinge and Subdueinge The Island off Cayenne vnto His Majestie off England's subjection.

Thatt vppon the Signall Giuen, you land att thatt place which is or shall be (uppon our better consideration) agreed and appointed.

That if you meete with noe greate Resistance nott to Fire many Shotts, but makeinge all the speed you Can to Land, Reserueinge your shott to Fall in with the Enemy. If (they make) any Considerable Posture of Resistance nott to make any Halte or to draw vp in order butt to presse in vppon the Enemy with the Clubb end off the Muskett and Sword, which shall be accordingly Seconded by your Reserues. And when you have gayned soe much ground as may be Convenient for the Landinge and draweinge vp the whole partie to Rally and Drawe vp your sayd Forlorne hope, and make a Stand vntill all are landed and drawne vp. That howeuer the Enemy may appeare or dispose themselues, whether to a stand (or) a Flight Feyned or Reall, otherwise then in your owne deffence beinge once drawne

vp and Footeinge as aforesayd, thatt vppon noe pretence or your own apprehention in what to you may visibly appeare as an Inconsiderable Nomber, to Ingage or hazard your partie till the whole be Ready to your assistance. And in like manner if soe it be thatt we doe or can land without resistance or little opposition Soe to make a stand vppon the most aduantagious Ground till all be drawne vp as afforesayd. Thatt vppon your March after soe Landed and drawne vp, thatt you haue an Especiall Care therein to keepe out Scoutes in your Front Soe in your Flanckes to Discouer Ambuscadoes, and that you March Easy, Consideringe ye way you soe march thatt The Reare may be able to keepe vp att Theire *f. 174.* appointed Distance with you; and thatt you Sometyme Drawe vp (Ground permittinge) The whole party to doe the Like, till the Reare in like manner be drawne vp. Thatt when or wheresoeuer you meete with the Enemy whether Champaigne, Ambush, or else otherwise in theire Forterresse or place of great disaduantage, that then you March Directly vp to their faces, if Possible. receauinge their Charge, Reserueinge your owne till you Come within Pistole Shott or lesse from them, and then with your Shott discharged to fall into Clubb Muskett and Sword with them, which shall be accordingly Seconded. That if they Fly to pursue (butt in good order) and soe as the whole party may Followe in their appointed distance and Like good order. Iff by palpable Nessessity you shall be enforced to retire beinge ouer powered, or other accidents, if the ground Permitt, retreate in order; if the Passage narrowe or discomodious that it Cannot be, then to open to the right and left into the woods; or that if that Cannot be, to Fall downe vppon your Bellys, that your Reserues and assistance may come vp in un-disordered that besides what hath ben formerly declared. You are to acquainte all your said partie, that if they Straggle without Lycense from their party, they are to Loose their

proportion off Plunder. That you are to lett all your Commissionated Officers for this party be priuy to this your order, that itt may be in any Case the better obserued, which from my present Knowledge of things, you are to obserue and Followe till Further or other order from mee, off which you are nott to Fayle as you will answeare the Contrary. Giuen vnder my hand this 20th August 1667."

The word is *Yorke.*

To Major Richard Steeuens, Comander of the Forlorne Hope for the takeinge The Island of Cayenne.

f. 174b. By Sir John Harman.

"You are with your Company vppon the Landinge off Major Steeuens with the Forlorne Hope to Land, and as his Imediate Reserue in case the Enemy make any Considerable Resistance then you doe nott Regard the draweinge vp your men, butt to Fall in with the Enemie vppon whome soe as to doe Certaine Execution, haueing discharged your shott, to presse in with them with Clubb, Muskett, and Sword, which shall be seconded accordingly by your reserues and the whole party till we gett soe much ground as to drawe vp all our Forces. Thatt when the said Forlorne Hope is, or shall Draw vp, the Ground permittinge, thatt you drawe vp on the left hand of the said Forlorne; if the ground nott permittinge to drawe vp in the Reare of them and there to stand in good order till he march, then to March in good order in the Reare of him said Steeuens att 100 paces distance, Expressly Comandinge your men nott to stirre out off the Ranckes & files vppon the Certaine penaltie of looseinge their whole Proportions of Plunder. That when the sayd Forlorne shall discouer the Enemy & Ingage, if the ground will permitt, to drawe on his left as afforesaid and Fall in with the Enemy, receauinge their charge if Possible and with your owne shott discharged to fall in with them with Clubb Muskett and Sword, which shall be seconded with your reserue and as

many of our Forces as the ground will permitt: in case (there is) noe ground soe to doe, then to attend att your Distance in the Reare, Ready for the Releife of the said Forlorne. That if the Enemy doe stand and ours nott able to Force them to giue ground, that then you Embrace all opportunities Either by Flanckinge them in the Woods or any other way you may apprehend, Still endeauouringe to keepe your men in good order for the Fallinge in with the Enemy as neare as you Can to the manner afforesaid. In case the Sayd Forlorne shall call for the reserue, Thatt you march vp Giueing the word to them to open to the right and left and to your owne to close, Marchinge *f. 175.* by diuisions or accordinge to the ground you have, and if the thicknesse of the woods and Narrownesse of the way or any Confusion or disorder of ours, that they neither open to the right & left nor fall downe vppon their bellys that soe you may March vp as afforesaid vndisordered; and the Enemy in all probabillity pressinge vppon them, not admittinge vppon any Tearmes any of them into your Ranckes & files thereby to disorder you, butt to looke vppon theire being soe admitted to be a thinge of the most pernicious dangerous consequence to the whole business. And to obserue the Like order to Retreate if Enforced your Selfe & In Callinge For your owne reserues openinge to the right and left, or Fallinge vppon your bellys; and this to make your commissionated officers privy to, that it may be the more Punctually obserued. All which From my present Knowledge of things you are to obserue and Followe till Farther or other order from mee. Giuen under my hand this 20th August, 1667."

The word is *Yorke*.

To Captain John Norbourow Comander of a Company relateinge to the Fleete and First Reserue to the Forlorne Hope appointed for the attacqueinge the Island off Cayenne.

The Like to Captain William Harmon Comander off the Second Diuision of the Reserue.

The Like to Captain James Carterrett Comander of the Third Diuision of the Reserue.

f. 175b. By the Leuit.-Generall.

" You are to order my Regiment to land in the Reare of the Reserues Comanded by Captain John Norbourow and Captain William Hamon, that if the Forlorne Hope and reserues doe meete with any considerable resistance and cannott repell the Enemy, thatt the Regiments to be Comanded to make all the speed they can to their assistance, not Regardeinge draweinge vp into a Regimentall order, butt to fall in with the Enemy as fast as they can Land with their Shott discharged soe as to doe Certaine Execution by Clubb Muskett & sword, which shall be seconded by all vntill the Enemy be dispersed and give vs ground to drawe vp our whole party or forces; and then to drawe vp in order, Euery Captain Comandinge and Fightinge with his owne men, all and Except those thatt are or shall be comanded forth their Respective Companies. Thatt wheresoever we meete with the Enemy itt be ordred that all or as many of the Regiments as the ground will permitt to drawe vp on the Left of the Forlorne & reserues, & with them to Charge the Enemy, if Possible Receauinge their Shott, and with ours discharged within Pistoll, or lesse of them, then to presse in with Clubb Muskett and sword. The ground nott permittinge all to stand Ready in their order to March vp to ye Releife of ours, as need shall require, and they passe the word For help, Causinge our Freinds the Releived to open to the Right and left that soe vndisorder'd the Releife may March vp, and nott to admitt any disordered People into our ranckes & files uppon any Termes, and to obserue the same order and manner In Retreatinge & in

charginge the Enemy as afforesaid. Further In Euery order for the Respective Captain & Companyes, you inciste that noe man depart or Straggle from his post & comand without order vppon any Pretence, vppon the Certaine Penalty of Looseinge all his whole Proportion off Plunder. This from My present Knowledge off things you and all my Regiment are to obserue and Followe till Farther or other order from me. Giuen under my hand 20th August, 1667." *f. 176.*

The word is *Yorke.*

To Collonel Phillip Warner.
The Like to Collonel Samuell Barry and his Regiment.

All thinges thus ordered, Each officer betakes him to his Respective charge dilligently lookeinge after The Souldery's Armes as alsoe the Firinge of them with Amunition, and other Thinges Suitable for the designe, Hopeinge in Short space to see land, When vnexpectedly there Fell a dead Calme, which Continued From the 1st August vntill the 9th. In which tyme the Soldery Suffered many Exegencies, & Farre more (had) happen'd hadd itt not ben prevented by the Civilities of the Sea Officers & Marriners. But the greatest Misery could not be redrest, which was want of water, Through default whereof many fell downe sicke, & the rest very much weaken'd. But on the 10th of ditto vp sprung a gale which Enliuened the People, and Judgeinge themselves to be Enough to the Eastward, The Fleete bore in for the land. Two nights before The Makeinge whereof there fell in amongst the shipps a French Brigandine sent Imediately after our departure from Neauis For Cayenne by Monsr Le Barre to giue Chiualier De Lezy (his Brother) Notice that we were bound for The Mayne. This vessell getts away before day out of the Fleete, and Arriues att Cayenne some 24 or 30 houres before vs. And the 13th we came in

Fayre with the land, and about 2 of ye clocke the Biggest shipps came to an anckor vnder Certayne Islands, Called the 3 sisters, some Eight English miles from the Shoare, in 4 Fathom and ½ water, Smaller Vessells goeinge Farther in. Here each Officer which was design'd for landinge, is sent for on board The Shipp *Lyon*, and charged to betake himselfe to his respectiue Comand, accordinge to the former written orders, as alsoe all the Comanders of Small Vessells and Boates to attend their Charge For the Expe-
f. 176b. dient Landinge of the men next morne (Ralph Saunderson Leuit. of the *Assistance* haueinge Comand of all the pinnaces and Long Boates). At which tyme the Forlorne runing a head in the Sloop as nigh to the shoare as the Master of her was willinge to Adventure (being tyde of Ebb) they betake themselves to their pinaces and long boates, Their reserue with all allacrity doeinge the same, each pinace toweinge a Long boate. Comeinge within halfe a mile of the Shoare, They might Decerne at the Leward End of the Bay a well Compact body of betweene Three Hundred and Fifty or Foure hundred foote, drawne vp by the waters side, wherevpon the comander of the Forlorne orders the boates to Rowe to the windward end of ye Bay, which the Enemy perceiuinge, began a swift march towards thatt place with more expedition then the boates could gett a head. Wherevpon (by a Signall) comandeinge all the Long boates to shipp their Oares and assist in Roweinge, but findinge that to auayle little, orders them all to be cutt loose, and the pinaces to make into the Shoare, which before hee could attaine with three of them, Viz^{t}. himselfe, Norris & Norbourow, The Enemy were within Muskett Shott. Butt instantly Hamon and Carterrett follow, beinge in all Eight and Forty or Nine and Forty persons then on land, the Comander of The Pinaces Returninge Imediately to Rowe in the boates. Here the French were Complemented with, to haue breath'd a little ; butt noe perswasion could prevaile.

They despiseinge that small Nomber and hopeinge to prevent the Rest from Landinge, began accordinge to the Custome of their Nation, to charge Furiously. Butt the place not admittinge of begirtinge the English, they fought with little aduantage, which Chevalier De Lezy and Monsr Chenay his Serjent Major perceivinge Both cry out aloud to giue one Volley, and then Fall in *Lespee a la main*, which word of Comand the English first obeyed and soe shott both him & his Serjt Major. The Long boates now nigh with the Shoare (and in view of all) Rowe on with a double Courage, and the Enemy faintly begin to retreate betakeinge themselves to a Towne hard at hand called Armyra, Consistinge off 60 or 70 houses, through which they Past vp vnto the side of a hill some halfe a mile distant and there Rally. The Party from *f. 177.* whome they Retreated (hauing a Respect to the Strickt orders giuen them for their landinge) Followe slowely in the Reare, by which meanss their partie Increast through ye Continuall arriueinge of Boates. Soe passinge through the Towne as many as were together drew up in sight of the French, whome they might Perceave to be much Enlargen'd in Nomber, as in effect they were, for there mett them 150 fresh foote. Here the English Souldery opprest with Violent thirst began to Straggle from their Officers & could not be Reclaimed, whereuppon the Comander of the Forlorne orders them all to Fall into the towne and drawe vp by the Church. But here the Mallady Increast for Just where they drew vp the Magazine was, In which there was great store of Merchandize and Strong Drincke From which the Souldery could not be kept. Here the Comander of the forlorne giues Imediate order for the Fireinge of the whole Towne which was Speedily effected, The French still throughing in Shott att our people as they ran to and againe twixt the houses. The Couerture of which beinge of very Combustible matter Flam'd soe Violently that the whole party were

faine to quitt the Towne and Retreate towards the waters side, Leauinge a wall of fire betwixt them and the French. Here the comand off the Forlorne Begininge to Faint, Comitts the Charge of his party to his Second, Captain Morris, Ordering him to goe to the Leward side off The Towne and there to take Possession of the mouth of a Brooke which there emptyed itt Selfe into the Sea (that all might have free Recourse for water), Then Comitting himselfe into the hands of Captain Norbourow who drew his Reserues to the windward end of the Towne (where they first Landed) to Secure all boates and attend the Landinge of the rest of their companions.

This small Bickeringe which lasted nott a quarter of an hower, had itt not ben done by day light and in view of att least a Thousand Seamen & Souldiers it would hardly gaine Beleife from a Single Report. Butt if euer Officers in the Indies Fought like themselves and there Souldiers like men (consideringe the disadvantage of the Place & Nomber & the Enemyes first hardinesse) itt was here.

f. 177b. There were Slaine vppon the Place out right of the Enemy twenty three men.

Wounded Chiualier De Lezy The Gouernor, Monsieur Chenay his Serj^{t} Major, with a considerable nomber of other persons.

On the English Side the Comander of the Forlorne shott in Seauen Places, Two of his men wounded and one killed out right.

The French who att the Fireinge of Armyra Lay on the side of the Hill aboue itt appeared noe more, butt march'd Directly through the Cuntry to the Fort on the other side.

This day about 4 or 5 of the Clocke in the afternoone There came to the Leuit-Generall from Cayenne Fort two French Gentlemen, The one a Souldier, The other an Inhabitant bringinge with them this Letter.[1]

[1] Instead of the letter there is a large gap in the MS.

This being read and their discourse tendinge wholly *f. 178.*
to the Miserablenes of their Condition could nott at first gaine beleife, it Seeminge vnpossible that Monsr Lezy a person of thatt Grandure, and his Serjt Major Soe generally a Reputed Souldier should quitt a place soe well fortyfyed and man'd as the Fort of Cayenne before the Enemy came within 11 miles of itt.

Next morninge beinge the 15th by breake of day the Leuit-Generall orders his party to aduance all allonge the Sea-side (that beinge ye best roade) towards the Towne and Fort off Cayenne. The whole way beinge Composed of small sandy Bayes, Cutt off with Points of Rockes and Wood through which there was a small Foote path. Beinge arriued halfe way there mett vs two men which had formerly ben Inhabitants in Antegoa, and had ben brought thither as Prisoners, who assured the Leuit-Generall That the day before as soone as Monsr Lezy Return'd to Cayenne neither he nor His Major went into the Fort but repayr'd to his owne house, thence taking his money, Plate, and other of his best goods and with itt Embarques himselfe & as many others as he Lik't on a Brigantine and Sloope which lay in the Riuer *f. 178b.*
by the Fort, Giueinge Direction to those that stayed behind to make as good conditions for themselues as they Could. And with all they give vs this Information, That after Monsr De Lezy's Departure The then comander of the Fort, Late in the Eueninge, Musters vp 80 off his ablest men, Giues them all new Fuzilz, Pistolls, Amunition, and new Shooes, soe sends they forth with an Officer into the Woodes, to what intent they knew nott.

Herevpon the Leuit-Generall comands the party to mooue Forward and to vse such Circumspection In their March as was Nessessary. Aboute 3 of the clocke in the afternoone they arrive within halfe a Mile off the Fort,

where the whole party drawe vp. And from thence The Leuit-Generall sends Capt. William Hamon (and one of the French Gentlemen that came to him overnight) with this Summons.

"To The Inhabitants of Cayenne.

Gentlemen,

I Beinge Imployed by his Sacred Majestie of Greate Brittaine *and William L^d Willoughby of Parham* for the Reduceinge The Island of Cayenne to his said Majesties obedience, In pursueance whereof I doe Imediately Require The Rendition of your Fort with all the Artillery and Ammunition therein, and that you Imediately Lay doune your Armes, and I shall giue you such Conditions for your persons as shall Consist with my Honour and your Submission. I expect your answere by the Bearer within an houre. Giuen from my quarters this 15^th September, 1667.

HENRY WILLOUGHBY."

Within Three quarters of an hower Captain Hamon returns attended by the officer that comanded the Fort, & two other French Gentlemen related as Factors to the Royall Company of France. These assure The Leuit-Generall what he comanded in his Summons The whole Cuntry would willingly obey, and alsoe Imediately
f. 179. surrender the Fort. Wherevpon the Party aduanceinge, The Leuit-Generall Entred and tooke possession.

There were found in This Fort & the Platt-formes therevnto belonginge as Followeth.

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* Inserted in another hand. The words "Captain Generall in America" are added in the margin.

In the Forts.

Demy Culverin off Iron ..	6			
Whole Culverin of Iron ..	1			
Whole Culverin of Brasse..	1	.. wte ..	..	3180
Twenty Fower pounder brasse	1	.. wte ..	..	3579
Three pounder of brasse	1	.. wte ..	..	1580
Falcon off Brasse	1			

In The Plattforme att the Landinge place.

Demy Culverin off Iron ..	7
Whole Culverin of Iron ..	2
Twelve pounders of Iron ..	2
Saker of Iron	4
Three pounders of Iron ..	2
Minion off Iron ..	1

In the Plattforme on the other Side of the Fort by the Gouernors house.

Demy Culverin off Iron ..	2
Five pounders of Iron ..	5
Demy Culverin, Drake cutts of brasse	2
Minion of Brasse	1

In the Magazine.

1500	Great shott	
27	Barrills of Powder	
26	Barrills of Bulletts	*f. 179b.*
400	Granadoe shells	
6	Barrills of Brimstone	
80	Backes, Brests & head peeces	
200	Bundles of Match	
400	Small Armes	

The Fort now in The English Possession, Guards (are) proportion'd for each nights watch, and the Souldiers somewhat refresh't. Inquiry is made after those Eighty Souldiers which were soe well arm'd and sent into the woods, Butt as to that noe Sattisfaction could be given, till a little tyme brought it to light. For they Rom'd vp and doune the Mountaines dareinge to attempt nothinge, and Some of them beginninge to dye with hunger, the rest draweinge Neare the Towne were all taken.

All thinges standinge in this Posture, it is thought Nessessary to call a Councell of Warre, wherein the most Intelligible of the Inhabitants might be Examin'd, that it might be Knowne what quantity of Negroes, horses and Cattle, Mills, Coppers and Stills there were in the Island when the English Landed, alsoe where Indian Prouisions might be most Comodiously found and gott Ready for the Further Transportacione of the partye, prisoners and slaues. To which Effect on the 17th A Councell mett.

Att a Councell off Warre in Fort Charles.

Lt. Genll. Hen. Willoughby	Captain Hamon.
Collonel Samuell Barry	Captain Carterrett
Major James Walker	Captain Morris Williams
Major Thomas Canes	Captain Lee
Captain John Collins	Captain Fitts
Major Steeuens	

f. 180. To this Court is giuen in This Followinge accompt By one of the Royall Companyes Factors and a Jew.

In the Island off Cayenne—Negroes ..	295
Coppers to Boyle Sugar in..	51
Stills, Wormes and Coolers not directly knowne what quantity but answerable to the Coppers. Iron worke and brasses for Tenn Mills.	
Cattle	49
Horses	10

Whereupon these Followinge propositions were made in the Councell off Warre.

Imprimis. By what meanes the Negroes may be best brought into Fort Charles.

2d How the Canon and Ammunition may be most Conveniently brought to The waters side Fit for Embarquinge.

3d How the whole party may in the tyme of Stay be most Conveniently Provided with prouant, as alsoe for their Further Voyadge.

Ordred.

To the 1st Thatt Eighteene Files be drawne out of the Two Regiments to disperse as much as possible through the Island in pursuite of bringinge in the Negroes and to returne without faile by Thursday night at Eight off the Clocke.

To the 2d That sixtie men be ordered from the Guard with an Officer to Comand them for the quick expedition of Carryinge doune the greate gunns to the Seaside to be Imbarqued.

To the 3d That the Prisoners and Negroes already In Possession be diuided to each Respectiue Company accordinge to their Nomber, and that they drawe Lotts where to make theire provisions.

Whilest some are in Pursuite after the Negroes, others Carryinge downe the Artillery & makeinge Prouisions, there Comes over from the Maine Vnto the Leuit-Generall, an Indian Prince, Famous in those parts for his Vallor *f. 180b.* and greate Warrs, Comonly Knowne amongst the Christians by the name of John Vandergoose. This person requests to be admitted into Amity with vs, Profferinge that if we should goe away without gettinge all the Negroes which were in the woodes, he would vndertake after our

departure to picke them vp & reserue them till the Leuit-Generall should send for them by order; to which purpose (accordinge to his Cuntry Fashion) he Proffer'd a tally of Wood with Seuerall Figures on itt, which should be a Certaine pass-port for any that should pass betweene the Leuit-Generall and him; And further adds in his Request, that if the Island of Cayenne and the Fort were to be slighted by the English, Thatt he might haue the Gouerment of itt for His Majestie of Great Britaine till some other person with people from England or any of the English Collonies in ye Indies should be ordered to come and Receaue itt from him, he being Confident of his Capabillity In Keeping any other Nation of. Butt to all (the answere he received) was a Kind welcome, it being not thought Fitt to meddle any farther with him till aduice had ben taken with Sir John Harman.

The Guns Beinge gott on board, the Fleete water'd, the stocke of ye Cuntry destroy'd, and some prouisions made for our further Transport, Sir John Harman sends a letter to the Leuit-Generall to desire him to dispatch his party, prisoners & Slaues to ye waters side fitt for Embarqueinge, but withall Intimates in the said letter that the Shipps were soe pestered, they could not carry off all The French Prisoners; addinge this Further Reason, That a greate Nomber of them were sicke and deseas'd persons vnfitt to be taken aboard. The Leuit-Generall Comunicateinge this to his Officers many of which had Seuerall Relations then prisoners in Martinique & Guarde loupe, they seeme to be agreiv'd that any of the French Should be left behinde (Being Christians) and the Jewes In that Country beinge betweene 50 and 60
f. 181. should be Carryed off. Wherevpon The Leuit-Generall Dispatches away an Officer to Sir John Harman On Board the Shipp *Lyon*, with a letter and these Ensueinge Proposalls, Giueinge him alsoe In Charge to Lett S^{r} John

Knowe whatte had past betweene him and the Indian Prince.

To The Lt. Generall. To Sir John Harman, Sept. 25th.

To Take as many as are fitt for Exchange.

Whether all the French Prisoners, men, women, and Children can with Convenience be transported hence to the Barbados or noe; if not the whole Nomber, Then whether such as are thought Fitt to Exchange to be drawne forth and putt on board.

To this assented Willingly.

That the Remaineinge part be provided for with howes, Bakeinge Stones, Iron Potts and working tooles.

To this alsoe assented.

That the Fort be as Farre forth as possibly demolish'd with all the Strong Buildings in the Island only some Cottages preserued for Couerture off Women and Children.

Hereto assented soe it extend noe further then The Negroes.

Whether The Indian Prince shall be left impowered to Follow his pursuite of the French Negroes, for The English Interrest, as shall be agreed on Betweene ye Lt. Genll. & him, at next meetinge.

That itt is necessary for ye Jewes to be transported for ye seuerall reasons fitt to be giuen to His Majestie.

Whether any, or all of the Jewes doe Concerne his Majesties Interrest, or the parties designe to be transported hence or left behinde. *f. 181b.*

JOHN HARMAN. HENRY WILLOUGHBY.

The Messenger being Return'd to the Leuit-Gen^ll^ he presently Giues order for the Embarqueinge of his Regiments (bagg and Baggage) and allsoe grants to the Indian Prince this Ensueinge Protection.

> "To all whome These may Concerne Greetinge. Know ye that I Henry Willoughby Leuit-Gen^ll^ to his Excellencie William Lord Willoughby of Parham haueinge reduced the Island of Cayenne from the French for his Sacred Majestie off Grea Brittaine, and being here resorted unto by an Indian Prince Comonly Knowne by the name of John Vandergoose who hath requested me to take him into the Protection of His Majestie, I doe hereby Certifye that I doe give vnto the said Vandergoose & his People my safe guard & Protection, and doe request all others to doe the Like, Soe long as the said Vandergoose and his People shall behaue themselves Faithfully & obedient to his Majestie And his Ministers. Giuen vnder my hand and seale this 27^th^ September 1667. In Fort Charles.
>
> HENRY WILLOUGHBY."

Thus the Stocke of Cayenne beinge Fully destroyed the Best of its Buildings In the last of there Flame, On the 29^th^ All Officers and Souldiers (bagg and Baggage) were on board, leauinge Behinde them nigh as Many Slaues
f. 182. as they Carryed away, Carryinge away more Plunder then the true value thereof will euer be knowne. On the 29^th^ of Sept. The Fleete tooke Its leaue of the Island and stear'd away from Syrranam.

f. 182b. *Relation of The Manner of The Takeinge of Fort Zeelandia & the Collony off Surrynam.*

October. On the 3^d^ of October about 4 of the clocke in the afternoone the Fleete came fayre up within 2 leagues of the riuer of Surrynam's Mouth, where they came to an

anckor. Next morninge Sir John Harman goes into the Riuer In the *Boneadventure* takeinge with him The *Assurance*, *Norwich*, Willoughby (*Portsmouth* and *Roe* Ketches) alsoe the Sloop. Being entered vp a good way in the riuer they came to an anckor within sight of the Fort, from whence the Leuit.-Generall sends Major Richard Steeuens In a Pinace with Captain Enus and a Trumpetter to attend him with this Summons.

"To the Governour of Surrynam.

Sr, Whereas I am Imployed by his Sacred Majestie of Greate Brittaine to reduce the Collony of Surrynam (Subject to the States of the Vnited Provinces of the Netherlands) & to bring you to his Obedience, I doe by these Comand Surrender of the Fort now in your Possession, with all the Artillerie, Ammunition and Armes, within halfe an hower, The which if you refuse to doe, you are to expect noe fauour but such as is customary in Stormed places. Giuen vnder my hand this 4th October, '67.

HENRY WILLOUGHBY."

The Pinace arriueing within twice Muskett Shott of the Fort, was mett withall by a boate of the Enemyes, who Forbad their nigher approach. Butt being Inform'd about what they Came, the boate Returnes to giue an accompt to the Gouernor who Imediately dispatches away his Major, who Cominge to the Pinace desires the Letter from the Leiut. Generall might be deliuered vnto him. For the Gouernor would nott admitt of any person to Enter into the Fort, To which Major Steeuens replyed he could not part with the Letter without Speakeinge to the Gouernor, which since denyed at present, he hoped in Few howers to see it Sent with an vnwelcomer messenger. Soe takeinge leaue each one repaire to his Station. *f. 183.*

The 5th. By breake of day the whole party off Foote belonginge to the Leuit. Generall were Landed at a place halfe a Mile Belowe the Fort, from whence there beinge noe direct way They march Through the Woods Two miles and halfe, about where they came to a Sugar worke and other small Plantations within a mile off the Fort. Here the Leiut. Generall Takes vp his quarters, Sending Major James Walker who comanded the Forlorne, to goe with his men and take a View of the Fort, in doeinge whereof the Enemy bestowed some Shott on him, butt to noe further damage then the woundinge One man. Soe he Returned with an accompt That the Fortification was Regular, well Scituated for its owne deffence, & nott to be Storm'd without Ladders, The walls Beinge about 18 Foote high and Pallazadoed round within 4 Foote of the Top.

About 6 of the Clocke in the Eveninge Captain William Hamon came from Sir John Harman to the Leiut-Generall, Requestinge him that with Constant Allarums he would keepe the Enemy wakeinge, and Strive to Dam vp their water he Being Informed that they had noe other butt whatt they Fetch't out of Wells, almost Muskett shott from the fort That Sir John as soone as the Tyde and wind should permitt would come vp Before the Fort & Begin his Battery, Soe takes his Leaue and departs on board.

The 6th. Earely in the Morninge the Leuit-Generall mooves forward towards The Fort, quartering his owne Regiment on the one side of itt, and Collonel Barryes on the other within Muskett shott. Butt vnder some Small Couert here they begin & Dam vp all the Well which was Perform'd by night. Some part of which beinge past, he began with allarums on all quarters off the Fort, and Soe continued vntill day, att which tyme he might perceaue Sir John Saylinge vp with the tyde of flood whereupon he drew of his men to their former quarters.

The 7th. Sir John Passes by the Fort withoute Fireinge a gunn, and comes to an anckor, and soe the rest of the shipps successively save that they Fired all the way alonge as they past. By that tyme they were all anckor'd The Battery is Smartly begun & continued. The Foote on shoare beinge at tyme of noe other vse butt Lyeinge in Small parties vnder Couert as nigh the Fort as they Could possible Come, Fireinge their small shott into the Bastions to hinder the Enemy from the Manadgment of their Artillerie.

The Shipps all this while beinge able to make vse butt of their vpper Tyre, however the Enemy seuerall tymes wholly quitted ye Rampier, and betooke themselves to the Body of the Fort Att the next High water all the Shipps began to winde vp nigher to the Fort, running out their Lower Tyre of Guns, intendinge to renew the Battery more Effectually, Which the Dutch Governor perceauinge, he hangs out a Flag off Truce under his owne red Flagg (the only then of 5 left standinge). This beinge a minute or two Look't on, and noe Body Seameth to issue To Parle, Some officers and seuerall Seamen without Sir John Harman's order (who att that tyme was nott able to Mooue of his Couch on the quarter Deck) Rowe, or Swim Directly on shoare, and with one Enter the Fort by the help of some peeces off timber and other matter which the Cannon had beat of the Walls, without the losse of one man. Some of the Foote Did the like on the other side, butt with worse successe, they haueinge one Killed and another wounded on the Top of the Walls. After *f. 184.* the Entry of the English there was noe Cruelties. Soe the Gates being opened, The Leuit-Genll with a partie Enters & takes Possession, where the Dutch Gouernour made a greate Complaint unto him for the Barbarisme that had ben vsed towards him In stormeinge The Fort whilst his Flagg of Truce was out, and himselfe in his Chamber writeinge the Capitulations. Butt Sheweinge

noe more weightier Reasons for being agreiv'd, his Sattisfaction therein could be butt very little, soe The Leuit-Generall Comittinge the Comand of the Fort to Major James Walker with his Forlorne, Euery man is ordered to repaire to his quarters.

There were in this Fort when the Battery was begun, 24 off Ordnance mounted and by Report 225 men, whereof att the takeinge of the Fort 54 were Slaine and wounded and Seuerall of the Canon dismounted.

On our Party were slaine Captain William Hamon Comander of the *Boneadventure*, Captain Thomas Willoughby Comander of the *Portsmouth* ketch, Captain Norbourow Comander of the *Assurance* wounded, with Seuerall inferriour Officers and Private men off which there was noe exact accompt taken.

Off the Foote on shoare Major Walkers Ensigne slaine, Captain Mussendine wounded & seuerall private Souldiers.

Being thus Possest of the Place, The Country are Sommon'd to appeare att Fort Charles, There to Informe the Leuit-Generall and his Officers, which way those foote on shore might best be Provided for with Provision for their tyme of abode there, and alsoe for the Transport of themselves Prisoners, and Slaues for the Barbadoes.

Further to give in an exact accompt off all Confiscations, Prize Negroes, or other goods, which the Dutch either by way of Conquest or otherwise, Claym'd as theirs.

Butt this being more then the bussines of one day Commissioners were chosen from Among the Officers, alsoe from among the Gent. of the Country to doe this affaire.

f. 184b. The 14th

"To the Honble Leuit-Generall Henry Willoughby.

Honble Sir,

To wipe off all aspersions which Prejudice and Ignorance hath cast vppon me concerninge the deliuery vp off Willoughby Fort to ye Dutch I know

noe better then to appeare before your Honour, and the Feild Officers of your Army where I question not but to make itt Evident that Nessesity Enforced me, Councell aduised me, and that Honour directed me. The Sooner itt is done the Better, by Reason of my Present Infirmity which Requires rather Rest then Trauell. In this your honour will exceedingly Oblidge.

Sir,
Your Honours most humble and
Euer Devoted Seruant,
W^M Byam.[1]"

This letter being perused by the Leuit-Governor Byam is Sommon'd to appeare before a Councell of Warre the next day at 9 of the Clocke in the Morninge in Fort Charles.

Att a Councell of Warre held the 15^th October,

L^t Gen^ll Henry Willoughby	Sir John Harman
Collonel Samuell Barry	Lt. Collonel Phillip Warner
Major Thomas Cane	Captain William Smith
Captain Edward Ewre	Captain Pyecroft

William Byam Late Leuit-Generall to His Excellencie Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham and alsoe the Governor off ye Fort and Collony of Surrynam brought in by the Marshall Generall Before the Court to answere to this Ensueinge Charge

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[1] William Byam, the ex-Governor of Surinam, had stayed on during the Dutch occupation. He had not only been directly accused of cowardice by Robert Sandford and his party, but Lord Willoughby himself had been suspicious that Byam had not defended the colony against Crynsens with honourable resolution (cf. p. 222 above). But, as here related, the decision of the Court Martial amply vindicated him. When Surinam was finally ceded to Holland under the terms of the Treaty of Breda, Byam with great loss to himself removed to Antigua, where (so he informed Sir Charles Pym) " I am hewing a new fortune out of the wild woods." (*H.M.C.* 10th Report, App., Part vi, *Bouverie MSS.*, p. 96, Byam to Pym, Nov. 8, 1668.)

f. 185. Willoughby Fort. October 15th, 1667.

Articles Exhibitted by the Judge Advocate of the Army vnder the Comand of the Honble Leuit-Generall Henry Willoughby against Leuit-Generall Wm Byam, Late Gouernor of Willoughby Fort and Province of Surrinam for the Losse and Rendition of the Same."

Whereas the Fort and Collony of Surrinam were comitted by ye Right Honble Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham His Sacred Majestie of Greate Brittain's Capt. Genll in these parts into the Custody off Wm Byam Late Leuit. Generall to the said Lord Willoughby from whome was expected a due and Just accompt of safe and Loyall Proceedinge therein, Butt on the Contrary itt doth nott as yet otherwise appeare butt that the said Leuit-Generall hath negligently Surrendred the said Fort & Colony into the hands of His Majesties Publique Enemies, and Therefore is hereby charged with Disloyalty to his Prince, and vnFaithfullnes to His Generall and is hereby required to make his answere.

H. B. Deputy Aduocate.

Leuit. Generall Byam after his charge was read presents this letter to the Court.

Willoughby Fort. February 17th, 1666.

"This day the Dutch Fleete cominge to an ancker close aboard the Said Fort & Fireing very hard for the space of 2 houres against us, and we against them, and the Face of the Fort next to the Riuer being Very Lowe, and their shott Scouringe the Inside of some of our Lynes, and Flyinge into some of our Bastions that our men could not possible Stand to the Curtains nor in Some of the Bastions, butt of Nessessity must be shott in peeces as two were, I then Summoned The vnderwritten Gentlemen & aduised with them

whether the Fort were any way Teneable (att the Same tyme the Enemy Landinge all his Foote and many Seamen). And itt was all our opinions itt could not possibly be kept if ye Enemy should then Storme, our men nott being able to Stand to oppose them, The Enemy Scoweringe the Inside of the Fort where our men Should Stand, besides we haueinge butt little or noe Amunition left. And finding the backwardnes of many of our men we did aduise the Gouernour itt could not possibly be kept, which was alsoe his opinion. *f. 185b.*

In witnesse whereof we have herevnto sett our hands the day aboue written.

Wm Byam.
Wm Cowell.
Christo. Randar.
Hen. Ferris.
Dauid Hutton.
George Cobden."

The Court vppon perusall of the same deliuer this their Sentence.—'Being mett to consider of a charge Exhibited against William Byam late Leuit. Generall to his Excellencie Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham for the Province of Surrinam, which charge beinge read and Seuerall wittnesses Examin'd vppon Oath and his defence beinge made, itt was putt to the question, Whether the said Leuit-Genll. William Byam was Guilty or not Guilty of the said charge and the matter off Fact therein Contayned, Resolued in the Negatiue and that The said Lt-Genll haue a Certifficate from the Honble Leuit. Genll Henry Willoughby and Sr John Harman, Knight, and ye Rest of the said Councell vnderneath his charge; that the World may be Sattisfyed of his Demeanour & Carriadge therein.'

H. B. Deputy Aduocate.

f. 186. His Discharge.

"We whose names are here vnder written out of a Sence we haue of Those many Calumnyous Reproaches & Scandalls that haue passed vppon Leuit. Generall William Byam about and Toutchinge The Losse & Surrendry of Willoughby Fort, Wee his Judges vppon Legall, Strickt Enquiry & Examination of all Circumstances and Euidences in and toutching the Same, Where in we vsed our vtmost Endeauours to discharge the trust reposed in vs for and in the tryall thereof, Doe find, That the said Leuit-Generall William Byam Late Gouernor of ye said Fort and province of Surinam hath in all particulars Demeaned himselfe as became a Loyall Faithfull Subject, as a Valorous prudent Comander, & an Honourable person & soe we desire him to be vnderstood, Receaued and accepted of as his Majesties Loyall, Louinge Subject, all which we Certifie this 15th of October, 1667.

Hen. Willoughby	John Harman
Sam. Barry	Wm Smith
Phill. Warner	Thomas Canes
Ralph Picroft	Edm, Ewre"

The 16th. This Tryall being over the Officers of the Regiments & the Gent. of the Country (appointed by the Leuit-Generall) bringe him in an accompt what way they had taken for the prouidinge of Victualls for his Souldery, Prisoners & Slaues, and alsoe an accompt of all the Confiscations (of what kind soever) The Dutch had made Since their Conquest of that place. Hereupon the Officers request The Leuit. Genll That whatsoeuer has ben found in the Enemyes Possession & Taken as loote may be forthwith equally Divided amongst Officers & Souldiers accordinge to quallification.

In Answere whereto The Leuit-Generall orders his Councell to meet him this Day where the Bussines shall be Considered & Determined.

f. 186b.

"To The Hon^ble The Leuit. Generall And the Commissionated Officers for the Settlinge of the Affayres of Surinam.

Itt is determined by the authority aforesaid Thatt all such Estates, as by the Dutch Inuasion (and Conquest of this Prouince) were made Confiscate to the States of Zealand be now remitted wholly and Soly towards the Sattisfaction of his Majesties Officers & Soldiers Now Comissioned & Imployed vpon the Reducement of This Colony to His Majesties Seruice.

Whereupon haueing Seriously Considered & maturely debated amongst vs how and in what manner Recompence might be awarded to the said Officers & Souldiers, and findinge nothing Soe Conuenient as that which was in the Imediate possession of the Enemy, Doe hereby ordayne & appoynte the Same to be diuyded amongst them accordinge to quallyfication. Giuen vnder Our hands this 16^th 8^ber, 1666.

Henry Willoughby
James Walker
W^m Smith
Phillip Warner
Thomas Canes
W^m Mussendine
W^m Byrdall."

The 17^th. This foregoing Determination beinge confirm'd The Commissionated Officers For the Affayres of Surinam with the rest of ye Officers of the Regiment present Leuit Generall Henry Willoughby with this Ensueinge paper Confirm'd under their hands whose contents he accepts, and has them deliuered into his possession.

"To the Right Hon^ble Leuit-Generall Henry Willoughby.

Whereas vpon the reduceing of the Colony (or Prouince of Surinam) with the Fort formerly Called Willoughby Fort from out of the hands of the States

f. 187. of Zealand (their Officers & Ministers) vnto the obedience off his Sacred Majestie of Greate Brittaine & haueinge here found in the hands and occupation of the officers and Ministers of the aforesaid State a Considerable Estate in Plantations, Negroes, Cattle & Horses with all appurtenences belonginge to Sugar Workes, which beinge now Fallen into the hands off his Majesties Officers & Souldiers (and are become a Due vnto them) by Virtue of a Contract made with the Hon^{ble} Leuit-Generall Henry Willoughby (On the behalfe of His Majestie) at our first inlistinge at Neauis for this designe, Viz^{t} That for and in Consideration of their pay & Sattisfaction for the said Seruice, Aduenture & Hazard, all such Estates as aforesaid that should be found & taken in the hands of the publique Enemy should be equally shared and Divided amongst The Officers and Souldiers according to quallifycation. Now itt happeninge that a Plantation or Plantations formerly belonginge to Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, haueing on or belonging vnto them a considerable quantity of Negroes, Coppers, stills & Mills, Cattle, Horses and other Stocke with all appurtenants belonging to plantations & Sugar workes, which said Estate Is a part of that which the Publique Enemy Possest in this Country and was in their occupation at our arriueall here, and therefore beinge to be diuided with the rest, Wee Humbly Present it as Followeth.

Wee your Honours Officers & Souldiers doe Humbly desire you will be pleased to accept for a Share and proportion (as Leuit. Generall, Collonel and Captain) all such Negroes as were formerly your Vncles (as afforesaid) for your Share off Negroes, And for your Remainder whether it be in Plantation, Coppers, Stills, Mills or other appurtenants belonginge to Sugar workes, Horses, Cattle, Stocke, &c. You take

and receaue all that is of that kind what did formerly belonge vnto your Vncle Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham.

All which We your said Officers & Souldiers Out of affection vnto your Honour doe Humbly present the Same vnto you desireinge Your acceptance thereof, And to possess & Injoy the same, As your now Vudoubted Right which we your Officers & Souldiers doe Confirme as our Act and Deed by Subscribinge our Hands. *f. 187b.*

October 18th 1667.

	Leuits. & Ensignes.
Collonel Sam. Barry	Will. Lee
Leuit. Coll. Ph. Warner	Edw. Fitts
Major James Walker	Rowland Williames
Major Thomas Cane	Bryant Cansfeild
Captain Edm. Ewre	Thomas Martin
Captain Ralph Picroft	Jonatha Taylor
Captain William Smith	Roger Bently
Captain Walter Levens	
Captain Wm Mussendine	
Captain Wm Byrdall	
Captain Roger Elrington	
Captain Abra. Howell	

Leuits. & Ensignes.

Daniell Mitchell	Richa Williams
Stephen Fryer	Robert Hessmith
Anthony White	Morris Phillips
John Tucker	Richd Jane
Nicho Taylor	Lawr Hanaton"

The Negroes and other Plunder being brought in, and the Prouisions Every day Embarquinge for our Transport, The Leuit. Generall Comands the Cheife of the Inhabitants of the Country to appeare before him on the VIth of this Instant In Fort Charles, And if they haue

any agreivances to haue them ready drawne vp, there to present unto him; Where they meetinge accordinge to order deliuer this Ensuienge Paper.

Surinam. October 27th, 1667.

"Wee Vnderwritten being this day Comanded to attend the Honble Lt. Generall Henry Willoughby & ye Honble Sir John Harman, Knight, concerninge the settleinge the affaires of this Collony & being demanded what we the agreiueances of the Country, in this happy change beinge redeemed from the Dutch & reduced to the Gouernment of Our Owne Soueraigne, We Doe testifie & declare that we knowe noe other agreiuance but this; That part of the Negroes which were confiscated by the Dutch & Some that were taken by them and in their possession which we had hopes to have purchased, are to be Carried out of the Collony. But we acknowledge there was a great Nessessitie for itt; It beinge otherwise Impossible to please & Sattisfy the Souldiers who had noe other pay but what they tooke from their Enemies to the trueth whereof wee subscribe our hands.

f. 188.

Wm Byam
Benell Randon
James Maxwell
Natha. Clarke"

The tyme of Departure now drawinge nigh, The Generall Resolues to settle Collo Barry as Governor of the Fort & Collony of Surinam, Vntill His Majesties Further will & pleasure be knowe therein To which Intent the Lt Generall Putts forth this Declaration.

Surinam. By the Leuit. Generall.

"Whereas by Gods Blessinge on His Majesties Forces this Colony is releiued & discharged from the Yoke of

the Enemy and Reduced to its due obedience under our Soueraigne Lord the Kinge, and whereas by the Late Sicknes and Warre itt is Exceedingly Consumed & wasted soe that it is unable to defend or support it selfe against any Inuasion of the Enemie, & haue Therefore out of the Tender Regard for the strenghning & Preseruation of his Majesties Collony Comissioned and Impowered Coll. Samuell Barry, a Person of greate experience in Military affaires, to Remayne here Gouernour of the Fort and Collony with a Sufficient Nomber of able Officers & Souldiers & a well Stored Magazine of all Nessessaries of Warre which doe tend to the Same. And that his Majesties Subjects here may foresee that they shall not in the least be abridged of the Priuelidges of English men, the Gouernment vnder which they are, shall be in the Same Forme itt was before the takeinge of the Country by the Dutch, with noe other difference but this, that as itt was formerly vnder a Propietor it is now Ciuilly vnder his Majestie. And I doe Further Declare for the Gouerment and ease of the Inhabitants that all former Taxes, Customes and[1] . . . . doe cease & are abollished, nor shall there be any thinge Imposed on them in this their free[1] . . . . in Assembly. And I doe Further assure the Inhabitants that all due Care shall be taken for Their *f. 188b.* Support and Supply, and in Case of the Continuance of the Warre for their better preseruation to Remoove them to Some other off His Majesties Collonys. And seeinge you may hereby Expect Powerfull Enemies to Invade you, and all the meanes I could possible is left for your Assistance, I doe hereby most Stricktly charge, require & Comand all & euery the Inhabitants (Leauinge the Management of their priuate Interest) most Vnanimously and speedily to Joyne and Contribute for their Publique deffence and Safety that in Case of any Inuasion or opposition, You

[1] [A gap here.]

may be found Ready and Prepared deffendinge His Majesties Right & your owne Interrest with Courage & Honour.

Giuen vnder my hand the 28th of Augt 1667."

A Coppie of Collo Barry's Comission

Surinam. By the Leuit. Generall.

"By Virtue of a Power Deriued vnto me from His Excellencie Wm Lord Willoughby of Parham for the settlinge of this Collony for the good of His Majestie & Preseruation of his Subjects, I doe for the Greate Courage, Fidellity and Loyaltie which I find in you Collonel Samuell Barry in His Majesties Seruice and for the greate Experience in Martiall & Ciuill affaires, constitute, appointe and Impower you to be Gouernor of the Fort and Collony of Surinam, hereby orderinge and requiringe you to Rule the Inhabitants with the aduice of Collonel[1] . . . . accordinge to the same Forme & rule as they were formerly Gouerned, before the takeinge of this Collony by the Dutch, only & in ye name of His Majestie & for his Sole & proper Vse. And all the Inhabitants of this Collony are hereby most stricktly required and Comanded to obey you as their Gouernor. And you are alsoe hereby Required to obserue and follow Such orders and Instructions as I have now Giuen you, or you shall hereafter receaue from his Excellencie The Lord Generall from Barbados till Further order from His Majestie."

Giuen vnder my hand And Seale, The 2d of November 1667.

Henry Willoughby.

f. 189. The Leuit. Generall hauinge declared himself as before Specifyed and Commissionated Collo Barry, Leaues with him out of the Two Regiments one hundred able well

[1] [A gap here.]

arm'd foote for the guard of the Fort and Collony, and soe on the 2d November Embarques, And on the 3d Followinge sett saile towards the Barbados.[1] Of the Plunder and Negroes of this Place there was noe certaine accompt what was brought of, Butt the Comon Vogue went (that) the Negroes belonging to the Dutch (which they confiscated by Conquest, or tooke by prize) were six hundred & odd. This Country prooved very Vnhealthy to the whole partie, many att this present pineinge away Vnder the Infection they gott there.

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[1] When the expedition arrived at Barbados, they learnt to their disgust that according to the Treaty of Breda (which had just been signed) Cayenne & Surinam would have to be returned to their former owners, as all dependencies captured by either side after May 10th —as these had been—were to be restored. This was naturally a severe blow to Lord Willoughby, whose brother had sunk a large part of the family fortune in the settlement of Surinam. He accordingly determined to make the colony untenable for the Dutch, by persuading the planters to emigrate to Antigua and by destroying all houses, sugar works, etc. Henry Willoughby was sent back to execute the project and remained there till February, 1668, carrying out the work of destruction and in the meantime refusing to hand over the colony to the Dutch. But the latter protested to the English Government, which immediately reprimanded Willoughby and ordered him to pay full compensation for all damage done and to bear the expense of transporting back to Surinam all planters who had been induced to leave and who wished to return. (See the following sources: Willoughby to the Privy Council, C.O. 1/21, No. 162; Willoughby to Arlington, *Cal. Col.* 1661–1668, No. 1710; protest of the Dutch Ambassador to the King, *ibid.*, No. 1746; further letter, same to same, *ibid.*, No. 1759; King to Lord Willoughby, *ibid.*, No. 1785.)

Thus despite the strenuous efforts put forth during the war, Surinam was finally lost to Great Britain. But as already noted (introduction, p. xciii), British commercial enterprise continued to thrive in the country, so that a portion, at any rate, of those regions which had witnessed so many English colonising ventures eventually became a permanent part of the Empire as British Guiana.

INDEX.

Abercromby, Sir Ralph, lxv
Ackland, John
— deposition of, 25
Amazon, River, lviii, lxiv, lxvii, lxx, lxxi, lxxii, lxxvi, lxxix, lxxxi, lxxxii, lxxxv, 1, 132 and *n*, 134, 135, 147, 150, 152, 153, 157, 159, 163, 182, 204
Antigua (Antego), xxvii, xxviii, xxxv, liii, xciii, 17*n*, 147, 196, 198, 235
Ashton (Asten), Mr., xxiii
— quarrel with Governor Hilton, 6–8
Astree, Mr.
— deposition of, 27
Ayscue, Sir George, xlvii–xlviii, 50*n*, 174*n*, 178*n*

Bandock, Capt. William
— deposition of, 42
Bannister, Sergt.-Major James, 147, 191, 202
Barbados, xxviii–lv, 6
— governor of, taken prisoner, 8
— attacked by Spaniards, 10–12
— depositions concerning settlement of, 25–42
— De Ruyter's raid at (*see* under De Ruyter)
— description of, 42–48, 63, 65–71, 73–76
— political situation in, 48–53
Barrey, James, deposition of, 28
Barry, Col. Samuel, 147, 223, 226, 231, 244, 250, 253, 254
— his commission as Governor of Surinam, 256
Bawlston, Captain, 200
Bedingfield, Col. John, 18
Bell, Captain Philip, xxvii and *n*, xxxix, xliii
Bennet, Secretary, 112
Bergenaar, Matthijs, 202, 203 and *n*
Berkshire, Earl of, lxxxi, lxxxii
Blenerhassett, Mr., 161
Burch, William, 54
Byam, Major William, xliii, lxxxix, xc, xci, 49 and *n*, 143, 144 and *n*, 145
— charges by Sandford against, 184–188
— letters to Harley by, 190–191, 193–195
— narrative of, concerning Surinam, 199–220
— trial and acquittal of, 247–250

Carlisle (James Hay), First Earl of, xxi, xxii and *n*, xxxi, xxxii, 5, 8, 25 and *n*, 26, 27, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 41, 42, 81, 126 and *n*
Carlisle, Second Earl of, xxxv, xli, xlii
Carolina, liv, 174, 188, 193
Caroon, Captain, lix, 115
Cayenne (Cayan or Cheyan), Island of, 21, 194*n*
— taking of, by the English, 222–242
— return of, to the French, 257*n*
Chacon, Don Joseph, lxxxi
Chenay, Monsr., 233, 234, 235
Cleere, John, 40
— deposition of, 41
Clerke, Captain Nathaniel, 204, 210, 211
Clovill, Mr., 156, 159, 161
Colt, Sir Henry, xxiv, xxv, xxvi and *n*, xxx
— voyage of, 54–102
— arrival at Martinique, 76
— — Dominica, 77
— attacked by Spaniards, 76–83
— arrival at Montserrat, 83
— — Nevis, 84–86
— — St. Christophers, 86
— agreement with Dutch, 87
— settling on St. Christophers, 89–91
— comparison between St. Christophers and Barbados, 91–94
— supposed Indian attack on English at St. Christophers, 96–98
— at Barbados (*see* under Barbados)

Colvile, Captain, 210, 220
Courland, Duke of, 115 and *n*, 116 and *n*
Courteen, family of, xxix*n*, 25*n*
Courteen, Sir Peter, 36
Courteen, Sir William, xxix, xxxi, xxxiii, xlii and *n*, 35, 36, 38–41
— his claims to Barbados, 29–32
Cowell, Captain William, 145, 202, 205, 249
Crynsens, Admiral Abraham, xci, 146, 147, 207, 208, 209
Cuttey (Cottey), Peter, 3 and *n*, 18

Darell, John, 32; deposition of, 32–36
De Acosta, Pedro, 138
Deane, Captain William, 35, 40*n*
De Berreo, Don Antonio, lxiii, lxvii and *n*, 124
De Beveren, Hubert, lxi
De Forrest, Jesse, lvii, lxxix, lxxx
De Leisle, Monsr., 146, 200
De Lezy, Chevalier, 202, 231, 233, 234, 235
De Moor, Jan, lviii
Dennis, George, 19, 41
— deposition of, 41–42
Denny, John
— deposition of, 25
De Noell, Monsr., 201, 202
De Poincy, Monsr., xx
De Ruyter, Admiral, l, li, lii
— his raid in the West Indies, 103–113
— his barbarities on African coast, 103–108
— attack on shipping and forts of Barbados (various accounts of), 109–113
D'Esnambuc (Numbec or Namburg), Monsr., xviii, xx, 3, 18, 21, 96
De St. Laurence, Monsr, 21, 23, 24
De St. Laurent, Monsr., lxv
De Toledo, Don Frederick, xxiii, 11, 12

Eris, Captain, 204, 243
Essequibo (Dissequibe) River, xxx, lvii, lxxii, 37, 39, 40, 41, 135, 136, 140, 203, 221
Everard, Col. Clement, 20

Fanshawe, Sir Richard, 1 and *n*, li, lii and *n*
Farmer, Samuel, liii
Feilding, Lieut.-Col., deposition of, 27
Fortiscue, Captain William, 128
Freeman, Lieut.-Col. William, 18, 20
Futter, Captain, 75 and *n*

Gardner, Morris, xxiv, 20 and *n*
Geroen, 19, 20
Groenewegen (Gromwegle), Amos Van, xxx, lvii and *n*, 37*n*, 139 and *n*, 140 and *n*
Guadeloupe, xxv, liv, 77, 83, 85, 98, 240
Guiana, xv, l, lvi, lxvi–xciv
— description of, 132–138
— exploration of, 138–148
— The Guiana Company, 148–174
Guy (Gye), Lt.-Col., 49

Hamon, Captain, 225, 230, 236, 244, 246
Harcourt, Captain Michael, lxxii
Harcourt, Robert, lxxi, lxxii, lxxiii, lxxiv, lxxvi, lxxxiii, lxxxv and *n*, 151 and *n*, 156, 157, 158, 161
Harley, Sir Robert
— letters to, 189–198
Harman, Sir John, xc, xcii, 146, 219, 222, 223, 228, 240, 241, 243, 244, 245, 250, 254
Hartley, Major Jeremiah, lxiv, 128, 130
Havercampe, Mr., xxi, 27*n*
Hawley (Halle), Captain Henry, xxvii, xxxiii, xxiv, xxxv, xxxvi, 8 and *n*, 10, 17*n*, 19, 32, 66*n*
Hayes, George, 8, 10, 13
Hendricson, Mr. 133, 135
Hilton, Anthony, xxii, xxiii, xxiv, 17
— settlement of Nevis by, 4–6
— quarrel with Mr. Ashton, 6–8
— plot against, 9–10
— departure from Nevis and settlement of Tortuga, 15
Hilton, John, 11, 12, 13
Hixson, Mr., 156, 159, 161
Holdipp, Captain, 75 and *n*
Hunkes, Sergeant-Major Henry, xxxv, xxxvi, 17
Hyde, Laurence, lxxxix*n*, 143 and *n*

Indians
— Accowyes (Occoweyes), 133 and *n*, 137
— Arrawacos, xxx, lx, lxiii, lxiv, 122, 125, 127, 128, 130, 133*n*, 137, 202
— Caribs, xix, xx, lviii, lix, lx, lxiv, lxvii, 125, 127, 135, 136, 137, 138; at St. Christophers, 1–4
— Kenicurus (Semicorals), 137 and *n*
— Parecoates, 138, 139
— Sahaunes (Shahones), 133 and *n*, 137
— Sepoyes, 127, 133*n*, 137, 142
— Warooes, 137

Jackson, Captain William, x, xvii
Jamaica, xlix, 145, 193
Jansz, Pieter, lxxx and *n*
Jeafferson, Charles, xvi
Jeafferson, John, xvii, 29 and *n*
Jennings, Captain, 17

Kaynall, Christopher, 128 and *n*
Keene, Captain, 200
Kettleby, Captain John, 17
Keymis, Captain, lxviii

Lake, Jacob, 9, 11, 17
Lampsins, Adrian and Cornelius, lx, lxii
Lawson, Sir John, 1 and *n*
Leigh, Captain Charles, lxviii, lxix and *n*, 138*n*
Leigh, Sir Olive, lxviii, lxix
Littleton, Mr. Thomas, 5, 14, 85*n*
— Governor of Nevis, 15
— Intrigue against John Hilton, 15–17

Marlborough, Earl of, xxxix
Marshall, Captain, lix, lxxxvii, 115, 141
Martinique, li, lii, 76, 98, 108 and *n*, 220 and *n*, 240
Masham (Massam), Captain Robert, lxiv, 115, 127
Matteson, Mr., 132 and *n*
Merrifield, Ralph, xv, xvi
Metalina, xxvi
Middleton, Colonel, 49*n*
Moale, Mr., xxi, xxvi, 27*n*
Modiford, Col. (later Sir) Thomas, xlvii, 49 and *n*, 145*n*, 193*n*
Montserrat, xxvii, xxviii, lii, liv, 83, 111*n*, 113*n*, 197, 198
Morgan, Colonel Henry, 145*n*
Morris, Captain, 234
Motisye, John, 36

Negro, River, lviii
Nevis, xv–xxviii, lii, 84, 85, 111*n*, 131*n*, 196, 198
— first settlement of, 4–10
— Spanish attack on, 10–12
— resettlement of, 14–15
Noel, Martin, 20*n*, 174
Norborough (Norbourow), Captain, 225, 229, 232, 234
Norris, Mr., 232
North, Captain Roger, lxxv, lxxvi, lxxvii, lxxxi and *n*, lxxxiii, lxxxv*n*, l*n*, 161

Okiari, River, lxxx
Orinoco, River, lxvii, lxx, 119, 122, 132, 133, 134, 137, 138, 139, 146, 148, 182
Oyapok (Wiapoco), River, lxix, lxx, lxxi, lxxiv, lxxvi, lxxvii, lxxxiv, lxxxv, lxxxvi, 136, 138, 140, 141, 143, 150, 152, 153, 156, 157, 199, 203, 221

Painton, Captain Thomas, lxxvii, l*n*
Parker, Captain John, 200
Pear, Mynheer van, 140
Pembroke (and Montgomery), Philip, Earl of, xxxi, xxxiii, lviii, lxxxiv, 31, 33, 34, 116 and *n*, 126 and *n*, 127, 148*n*
Pomeroon (Bawrooma) River, lx, 116, 141, 145, 199, 200, 202
Povey, Thomas, 20*n*, 174, 177
Povey, William (Provost-Marshal of Barbados), 192
Powell, Henry, xxix, 25*n*, 30, 31, 32
— his petition to Governor Searle, 36–38
— deposition of, 40
Powell, Captain John, xxix, xxx, xxxiii, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37 and *n*, 140 and *n*
— deposition of, 38–40
Powell, John (Junior), 39

Raleigh, Sir Walter, lxiii, lxvii, lxxv, 124, 126, 140, 141
— arrival at Trinidad, 123
Ram, Captain, 146, 147
Read, Colonel Edmund, 197
Rendar, Captain Christopher, 202 203, 249
Ridge, Colonel, 49*n*
Roderigo, Johannes, 114

Roe, Sir Thomas, lxix, lxx, lxxi
Rous, Anthony, lxxxvii, 142 and *n*
Royden, Colonel (later Sir) Marmaduke, xxxii and *n*, 31 and *n*
Rupert, Prince, l*n*, 106 and *n*
Russell, Mr. James, 14, 17, 222
Russell, Colonel Randal, 17

Sandford, Frank, 193, 194
Sandford, Robert, lxxxix (*see* also under Byam)
Sandwich, Earl of, l*n*, 104*n*
Santa Lucia, xxvii, liv
Scott, Major John, lvi and *n*, lvii, xc, xci, 200
Searle, Daniel (Governor of Barbados), 36
Skewes, Captain John, 204
Sparrow, Captain, 16, 17
Stapleton, General William, 17
St. Christophers, xv–xxviii, liii
— first settlement of, 1–6, 18–20
— second settlement of, 14
— taken by French, 3, 4, 20–24
Stevens, Major, 225, 228, 243
Surinam, lii, liv, lix, lxxxvii, lxxxviii, xc, xci
— settlement by Francis Lord Willoughby, 174–183
— letters concerning, 189–195
— defence of and surrender to the Dutch, 199–222
— re-captured from the Dutch, 242–257
— events in, after Treaty of Breda, 257*n*

Teixeira, Pedro, lxxx, lxxxi, lxxxiii
Thompson, Mr. Morice, deposition of, 26 and *n*
Thornton, Rev. Richard, lxxxiv, lxxxv, lxxxvi
— his narrative, 148–174
Tobago, xxxi, lv–lxii
— description of, 114–119
Tortuga (Tartodus), 14 and *n*, 16, 20, 81
— settlement of by Hilton, 15, 17
Trade
— Cotton, xxxvi, 47, 120
— with Dutch, xxxviii, 51, 52
— Dutch at Essequibo, 133
— indigo, 47
— sugar, xxxvii, xxxviii, 47
— tobacco, xxvi, xxxv, xxxvii, 47, 120
Trinidad, lv, lvi, lviii, lxii–lxvi
Trinidad, description of, 119–127
— first colony, 127, 128
— second colony, 128
— third colony, 128–131
Tufton, Sir William, xxxiv, 75

Vallett, Captain William, 10, 17
Virginia, 5

Walker, Major James, 244
Wallett, Captain, 5
Walrond, Edward, xlii, xlv
Walrond, Humphrey, xlii, xliii
Warner, Captain Edward, 6, 19
Warner, Captain (later Sir) Thomas, xv and *n*, xvi, xvii, xix, xxi and *n*, xxii, xxiv, xxv, xxvi, 4, 5, 6, 8, 17, 28, 29, 126
— settlement of St. Christophers by, 1–4, 18, 19
— re-settlement at St. Christophers by, 14, 21
Warner, Lieut.-Col. Philip, 223, 224, 231, 250, 251, 253
Warwick (Robert Rich), Earl of, xxxv, xxxvi, xl, lviii, lx, lxiv, lxxxvii, 115, 116, 117, 127, 128, 129
Watts, Colonel William, 20 and *n*, 21
Wheeler, Sir Charles, 17
Williams, Captain Morris, 226
Willoughby, Francis, Lord of Parham, xliv and *n*, xlv, xlvi, xlvii, xlviii and *n*, xliv, li, lii, liii, liv, lxxxvii, lxxxviii and *n*, lxxxix and *n*, xc, xci, 22, 24*n*, 25, 45, 46*n*, 50*n*, 111*n*, 142, 143, 145, 192, 193*n*, 199, 247, 248, 249
— attempted assassination of, 144 and *n*
— claims in Guiana, 177–183
— account of death of, 196–198
Willoughby, Henry, xcii, xciii, 112, 146, 147, 198, 222, 223, 236, 242, 243, 247, 250, 251, 252, 254, 257*n*
Willoughby, William Lord, xci, xcii, xciii, 220*n*, 222*n*, 236, 242, 256, 257*n*
Winthrop, John, 53*n*
Wolverston, Captain, xxxii and *n*., 27*n*, 33, 35, 39
Wrath, Captain Peter, 145, 200

Yeamons, Sir John, 188*n*, 193*n*

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